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Established 1887

Crowd Cheers Jury

Angela Davis Freed Of All Charges

By Sanford Ungar

AN JOSE, Calif., June 4 (WP)—An all-white jury of seven men and five women today acquitted Angela Davis of murder, kidnapping and criminal conspiracy charges in connection with the death of a San Francisco judge slain with three other men in a courtroom shooting in August, 1970.

The defendant will be discharged, the judge said. "The bail bond will be returned," he said. "All of you who walk the streets of San Francisco can hold your heads higher than before. You have conducted yourselves admirably."

Defense attorney Leo A. Branton, saying he spoke for prosecution and defense, praised the judge for "the even-handed manner in which you have handled this trial." Mr. Branton called it "a credit to the judiciary and the country."

Miss Davis, 32, free of criminal charges for the first time in months, sobbed uncontrollably as the verdict was announced in the Santa Clara County superior court here.

After flashing the same broad smile which prosecution witnesses used to identify her, Miss Davis told a news conference: "This is the happiest day of my life."

Grateful to Her Supporters

She expressed gratitude to people who "struggled so hard for my freedom," but added that their work was not yet done. "Starting this day forward, we must work to free every political prisoner, every oppressed person in this country and the whole world," she said.

Life in the courtroom after their verdicts were announced, went to the jury room. The jurors, who had been sequestered in a room in the basement, and warmly embraced Angela Davis, her family and friends.

"I don't know how you held up through all this," said one juror, Judge Frederick, as she hugged Kendra Alexander, Miss Davis's mother and friend and her constant companion during the 13-week trial, which is estimated to have cost almost \$800,000.

Mr. Timothy, a 51-year-old medical research assistant, whose daughter is a conscientious objector and who was elected foreman of the jury, described the 13 hours of deliberations this way: "We talked for a while and then voted."

She declined to provide any further description, saying: "The jury is what they are. The jury room should remain with us."

After choosing to deliberate today rather than attend a picnic, the jurors were met by Judge Richard E. Aronson, the jurors sent out at 10:30 a.m., advising that they had reached a verdict.

As court clerk Arthur Vaneck read the "not guilty" verdict on the three counts in the indictment against Miss Davis, there was gasps from the audience, then weeping, and finally applause.

The noise subsided after Judge Aronson angrily scolded that will not tolerate this kind of behavior in my courtroom.

As soon as the jury had filed out of the courtroom, Miss Davis rushed to embrace her parents, Frank and Sallye Davis, of Birmingham, Ala., her sister Paula Davis Jordan, 24, and her brothers, Cleveland Brown football player Ben, 26, and Reggie, 21.

A crowd of about 100 outside a security fence in front of the courthouse jubilantly chanted: "The power of the people set Angela free."

California Assistant Attorney General Albert Harris Jr., chief prosecutor in the case, left by a back door. "I have no comment at this time," he said.

The jurors, some with tears in their eyes, filed into the press room as a group and insisted that there had been "not a whisper" of discussion about the case among them before they received the judge's charge on Friday morning.

They also said they were totally unaware of the hijacking drama at the San Francisco airport that night, when a hijacker demanded the release of Miss Davis and \$500,000 as ransom for a commandeered Western Airlines jet.

Later, as the jurors left the press room, Miss Davis and her supporters stood in a receiving line to express their gratitude for the verdict. They invited the jury to a "victory celebration" at a nearby hotel.

Miss Davis told reporters that she had not yet decided whether to return to the United States.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Angela Davis—not guilty

Associated Press

Across U.S., Atlantic With \$500,000 Couple Hijacks Airliner to Algiers

ALGIERES, June 4 (AP)—A black American hijacker brought a \$500,000 ransom to the United States and a \$500,000 ransom to the United States and a \$500,000 ransom to the United States.

The hijacker, who was identified in the Los Angeles Times as William Holder, 33, of Santa Monica, Calif., and his companion, Katherine Mary Kerne, 20, of San Francisco, were reported to have been taken to Algeria and held in a black box he claimed was a powerful explosive, which he threatened to explode at any moment.

The pilot, Capt. William E. Bell, 43, of San Francisco, was said to have been taken to Algeria and held in a black box he claimed was a powerful explosive, which he threatened to explode at any moment.

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A Conversation With Hanoi's Le Duc Tho

By Murray Marder

PARIS, June 4 (WP)—North Vietnamese Politburo member Le Duc Tho claimed this weekend that in spite of "difficulties" caused by extraordinary American bombing and mining, his nation can keep the Communist offensive rolling in South Vietnam through the November presidential election in the United States and beyond it, if necessary.

In the first appraisal of the war outlook by a major Hanoi strategist since President Nixon's summit conference in Moscow, Le Duc Tho displayed great interest in what impact that meeting may have on the Vietnamese conflict. He also showed curiosity about speculation that President Nixon might assign former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally to a role in the suspended Paris peace talks on Vietnam.

In a four-hour interview, Mr. Tho gave the impression that Hanoi has received only preliminary information from the Soviet Union about the outcome of the Moscow summit to assuage its apprehension about the secret American-Soviet talks, or at least enough to show North Vietnam to stop showing its public apprehension about that conference.

Hanoi's openly expressed alarm at the outset of the Moscow talks has now shifted away from portraying Mr. Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union as a "dark and despicable political-diplomatic attempt to undermine the solidarity of those who support the Vietnamese in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression." That language was used the day after the summit meeting opened in Moscow.

Mr. Tho said that President Nixon's summit talks in Peking in February and in Moscow a week later were in a whole series of

Soviet Spy Ship Sends Thanks For Mine Alert

SAIGON, June 4 (Reuters).

A Soviet trawler shadowing U.S. warships in the South China Sea signaled its thanks to a U.S. destroyer when it was warned that it was approaching mines blocking the harbor to Vinh in North Vietnam, the Navy reported yesterday.

The Russian ship, the Izmeritel, changed course immediately and flashed a message to the destroyer escort McMorris: "Thank you for your cooperation and have a pleasant voyage," the Navy said.

The incident took place last Tuesday off central North Vietnam, the Navy added.

Vietnam: The Secret Report on My Lai and a Charge of Communist Atrocity

Army Lays Misconduct to Two Generals in Field

By Seymour Hersh

WASHINGTON, June 4 (NYT)—The Army's secret report on the My Lai massacre concluded that the top generals of the American Division committed more than 40 acts of misconduct or omission in the initial field investigations of the atrocity.

The report, which summarized the result of an intensive four-month Army inquiry, said that in general "efforts to suppress and withhold information concerning the incident were made at every level in the American Division" and were successful in keeping the account of the massacre from reaching higher commands in South Vietnam.

Maj. Gen. Samuel W. Koster, then commander of the division, was cited in 27 specific acts of misconduct or omission, and his chief deputy, Brig. Gen. George H. Young Jr., was accused of 19.

Criminal charges against both men were later dropped for "insufficient evidence," in Gen. Young's case, and for no "intentional abrogation of responsibility," in Gen. Koster's—but both were censured and Gen. Koster was demoted to brigadier general.

The final 260-page analysis of the concealment of the My Lai incident has become widely known inside the Army as the "Peers Report" after Lt. Gen. William H. Peers, the officer who was chosen by top Army officials in November, 1969, to head the inquiry.

Some details involving the day-to-day activities of the top officers of the American Division have been reported during the court-martial of Col. Oran K. Henderson, commander of the 11th Infantry Brigade, and Lt. William L. Calley Jr., the platoon leader who was the only defendant convicted in the incident.

But the overwhelming mass of material in the Peers report, including its findings, has never been made public and is still classified. A complete copy of the document has been made available to The New York Times.

Some of its basic findings are that:

• Gen. Koster failed "to insure that a thorough investigation would be conducted" and accepted

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Maj. Gen. Samuel W. Koster

East Germany Is Recognized

Big Four Sign Berlin Accord, Ostpolitik Pacts Put Into Effect

By David Binder

BERLIN, June 4 (NYT)—The foreign ministers of the four major victors in World War II signed here yesterday the first comprehensive agreement on Berlin and vowed it would end a quarter-century of periodic crises and uncertainty over the divided city.

Their signatures on the accord negotiated last year opened, in the words of a Berlin government spokesman, "a new era of normalization" for West Berlin and its two million inhabitants.

"Even our problems will be normal problems," the spokesman, Hans Peter Herz, added.

Yesterday's agreement will result in East Germany's entry into the United Nations, simultaneously with West Germany; diplomatic recognition of East Germany by the Western Allies after 23 years of international boycott and finally, normalization of relations between West Germany and East Germany.

For the West Berliners, more or less marooned 110 miles inside East Germany, the accord brings several major and many minor benefits.

Starting today they will be able to drive or take trains across East Germany to and from West Germany without being subjected to time-consuming controls or more serious harassments by East German frontier officials.

They will also be permitted to visit East Germany on a regular basis for the first time in two decades. The visits are limited to a total of 30 days a year.

The foreign ministers, whose meeting here was the first four-power gathering at this level on the subject of Germany since the 1958 Geneva conference of 1958, touched on these improvements in speeches at the signing ceremony and also stressed the larger implications of the pact for easing tensions in Central Europe.

East-West moves toward easing tensions in Europe, including plans for reducing troops and weapons on both sides.

The signal for the negotiations was given here in February, 1969, by President Nixon at a time of tension, a few months after the Soviet-bloc occupation of Czechoslovakia and on the eve of a brief East-West crisis over access to Berlin. Mr. Nixon said the situation in Berlin called for negotiation instead of confrontation.

The Berlin agreement marks the first time since 1955—when a pact ended the occupation of Austria and returned it to independence—that East and West

attained a fruitful and positive territorial settlement in the middle of the continent.

Many bitter clashes had gone before, including the 1948 Soviet land blockade of West Berlin and the 1961 confrontation over the building of the Berlin wall.

In keeping with the high spirits (Continued on Page 8, Col. 5)



ROLLING UP SUPPORT—Maurice Strong (center, first row), General Secretary of UN Environment Conference, leading a group on pollution-free bicycles in Stockholm. The bicycles were put at the disposal of conference members by the Swedish organizers.

109-Nation Meeting in Stockholm

Environment Parley Opens Today

By Gladwin Hill

STOCKHOLM, June 4 (NYT)—Representatives of most of the world's peoples will convene here tomorrow to launch the first global attack on environmental problems.

Under the aegis of the United Nations, about 1,200 delegates from more than 100 countries—with the probable omission of most of the Soviet bloc—will begin

two weeks of discussion aimed at producing a "framework" for international action to arrest ecological deterioration and conserve the globe's dwindling resources.

The assembly, the UN Conference on the Human Environment, is a formal UN proceeding, initiated by a 1968 resolution of the General Assembly.

The conference's decisions, carefully drafted to avoid any infringement on national sovereignty, will not be binding. But the general hope is that the meeting would yield three historic products:

• A permanent organizational unit within the UN to coordinate international environmental activities.

• A "declaration of principles" in which nations would acknowledge responsibilities toward the world environment.

• An "action" whose core is systematic monitoring and assessment of global conditions—a basis for future measures to curb environmental abuses.

Of prime concern in the discussion are the two global entities of common international "ownership"—the oceans and the atmosphere.

But the conference will go beyond those to virtually all aspects of human and natural conditions, from urban problems to the preservation of endangered species.

A 27-nation preparatory committee, at four long meetings, sifted the data down to approximately 200 recommendations for international action. The approval, modification or rejection of these recommendations will be the conference's main business.

The conference is open to UN members and the world body's 14 specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization. More than 70 of the UN's 135 member nations joined in the preparatory activities. Conference invitations went out to 142 nations. By today 109 nations had announced they would par-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

Iraq Planning to Market Oil From Its Nationalized Fields

BEIRUT, June 4 (Reuters).

Iraq will market the oil produced by the newly nationalized Iraq Petroleum Co. oilfields, the Iraq news agency said today.

In a dispatch from Baghdad, the agency said that the Iraqi National Oil Co. will sell the oil produced by the Iraq company formed after the nationalization of IPC assets last Thursday.

The agency said the new arrangement would take effect today and continue until further notice.

The marketing decision was announced in a communiqué issued by Oil Minister Saddam Hamudi, based on Article 13 of a new law governing the nationalization of IPC assets, the agency said.

The article authorizes the minister of oil to take whatever measures he deems fit to ensure

fulfillment of the provisions of the new law, it added.

The new development followed reports that the Iraqi government was offering the nationalized crude at "realistic and competitive prices."

The Iraq news agency quoted an announcement in Baghdad saying that Iraq would honor all contracts for oil formerly produced by IPC, which is contemplating legal action against any such buyers.

When the Iraqi government nationalized IPC's wells and assets Thursday, Syria nationalized the company's interests in its territory—a pipeline running from Iraq and a Mediterranean terminal at Banias.

The Iraqi Company for Oil Operations today placed front-page advertisements in Lebanese newspapers saying it had quantities of oil for sale.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

U.S. Captain Tells of Attack on Church in An Loc

SAIGON, June 4 (UPI).

A U.S. military adviser who has just returned here from the besieged town of An Loc reports that he witnessed the slaughter of civilians in a church there by a North Vietnamese tank crew.

"On April 13 at 10 a.m. I personally saw a Russian tank go into a church where services were being held and they killed 100 people—women and children," said Capt. Harold Moffett.

On the same day, he continued, wounded soldiers and civilians were moved into a "clearly marked hospital."

"That night the North Vietnamese blew it away with mortar and artillery fire and killed every last one of the people inside," he said.

Several days later, Capt. Moffett said, civilians attempting to leave An Loc were killed by the enemy. "I don't know how many of them were killed," he said.

The captain said several hundred civilians were killed in An Loc, some in parts of the city held by the South Vietnamese and others in areas held by the enemy.

Food Drops Shared

"In our area, the rangers would go out and recover the food drops and give the food to the civilians, who would cook it and share it with the soldiers," Capt. Moffett said.

The civilians washed the soldiers' clothes too.

Capt. Moffett, a career infantry officer completing his second tour of duty in Vietnam, was taken

to An Loc on April 8 to direct air strikes for South Vietnamese rangers who entered the city two days earlier.

Ten days later, he said, he saw North Vietnamese tanks leave the city "and it looked like the worst might be over. I personally thought at that time the battle for An Loc was ended."

The siege of the provincial capital north of Saigon has been under way for 60 days and not a single building in the city remains intact, Capt. Moffett said. "Everything is destroyed. I don't think anything is repairable."

"But you'd be surprised at the morale of the troops still in An Loc," he continued. "My people said just before I left, 'Let them come. We'll blow them away. We hope they come with tanks.'"

Angela Davis Is Found Innocent on All Counts

(Continued from Page 1)

to try to return to her teaching position in the Philosophy Department at the University of California at Los Angeles.

"Now I can begin to make some decisions and some plans," she said, pointing out that her own personal "security" may be a problem because of recent telephoned threats on her life.

Miss Davis declined to characterize her trial as a "fair" one. She said that the "only fair trial would have been no trial."

Her sister, Mrs. Jordan, read a statement from the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners. It said, in part:

"There never was a legal case against Angela Davis. But the political necessity for such a trial was incontrovertible for the state... We think that the people have taught the government of the State of California a lesson. But justice, real justice, will be done only when the authors of this conspiracy—[President] Nixon, [Gov.] Reagan, [California Attorney General] Evelle Younger and Harris—are indicted and convicted..."

Jurors Part of 'the People'

Miss Davis said that she had no more faith than ever in the American judicial system. She stressed that she considered "the people who sat as jurors not part of the judicial system, but of the people."

Her mother described the past 22 months as a "total nightmare" and said the verdict forebodes "freedom not only for my daughter, but for all the oppressed people of this land."

Today's verdict came after an emotional and bitter trial under extraordinary security precautions in this county seat 40 miles south of San Francisco.

It had been expected to go much longer—perhaps six months—until the defense rested its case on May 24 after a presentation lasting only three days. It was the position of Miss Davis's lawyers that only an "abbreviated" defense was necessary since the charges were essentially a political "frame-up."

Miss Davis did not take the witness stand, although she had delivered her own opening argument on March 29, when the presentation of arguments and testimony began.

The charges grew out of a widely publicized incident at the Marin County courthouse in San Rafael, north of San Francisco, on Aug. 7, 1970.

Jonathan Jackson, 17, entered the courtroom of Judge Harold J. Haley during the trial of James McClain, an inmate at San Quentin State Prison, on charges of stabbing a prison guard.

Producing three guns from a briefcase and disarming several courtroom deputies, Jackson distributed the weapons to McClain and several inmate witnesses.

According to a newspaper photographer present at the time, who later became a key prosecution witness in the trial of Miss Davis, McClain declared that the purpose of the action was to "free the Soledad Brothers."

(The Soledad Brothers were George Jackson, Jonathan's older brother; John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo, who had been accused of murdering a prison guard at Soledad State Prison while inmates there. George Jackson was held in a San Quentin cell very close to that of McClain at the time of the courthouse invasion. Jackson was later killed during an alleged prison breakout attempt at San Quentin in August, 1971, but Cluchette and Drumgo were subsequently acquitted of the Soledad murder charges in San Francisco Superior Court.)

During the Aug. 7, 1970, incident, Judge Haley was led from the courtroom with a saved-off shotgun taped to his neck. Gary Thomas, the assistant district attorney who was prosecutor at the McClain trial, and several jurors were also taken hostage.

They were led to a rented van which Jackson had left in the courthouse parking lot. During the ensuing exchange of gunfire, Judge Haley, Jonathan Jackson, McClain and another prisoner were killed. Another inmate, Russell Magee, was wounded, and prosecutor Thomas was paralyzed by a bullet.

It was subsequently discovered that the guns used by Jackson had been purchased by Miss Davis and that the briefcase in which he carried them included books with her name.

She and Magee were charged on Aug. 15, 1970, with first-degree murder but she was not arrested until Oct. 13 of that year, when she was discovered at a New York City motel wearing a disguise and using an assumed name.

In the meantime, she had been on the FBI's list of the 10 most wanted and become something of an international celebrity, the martyr-heroine of leftists.



TRAGIC EVIDENCE—Three mercury-poisoned Japanese victims, walking slowly, arriving in Stockholm yesterday to attend the UN Human Environment Conference today.

UN Opens Stockholm Parley On the Environment Today

(Continued from Page 1)

ticipate, including China, Romania and Albania. Altogether, the participants represent about 90 percent of the world's 3.5 billion people.

The principal prospective attendees are the Soviet Union, with 250 million population and some of its satellites, The Russians, who participated in conference preparations, are protesting the exclusion of East Germany under the conference's eligibility rules. The Soviets signed a broad agreement on environmental collaboration with the United States on May 23.

Conference officials thought it still possible the Russians "might walk in Monday morning," but saw their absence as no great detriment to either the conference or to the Russians themselves, who will be given complete information on proceedings.

The chief conference division is not between East and West, but between the advanced and the poor nations, which tend to view environmental refinements as an economic luxury conflicting with their desires to become industrialized and prosperous.

"Underdeveloped" nations—officially classified on the basis of receiving aid under the UN system—outnumber the industrialized nations at the conference by more than two to one.

Countering the view of environmental quality as a luxury is the contention that the developing countries would be foolish to follow the "smoke-means-jobs" path that led the advanced nations into their present environmental predicament, and that environmental quality can be "built in" to economic development without inordinate expense.

Conference organizers point to the participation of the poorer countries, which only a few years back were largely oblivious to environmental problems, as heartening evidence that rich-poor accommodations—such as international environmental aid—can be worked out.

6 Subject Areas

The conference deliberations are divided into six subject areas: problems of human settlements, natural resources, pollution, national development, future international environmental organization, and public environmental education and information.

The agenda material—made public last April in some 500 pages of preparatory committee reports—has been criticized as not coming to grips with at least two problem areas that environmentalists consider urgent: the global "population explosion" and depletion of the earth's non-renewable resources, such as minerals, some of which may be exhausted at present consumption rates within a generation.

While the implications of population growth for individual nations will be considered here, the basic controversial question of global population limitation has been left to a special UN conference on population scheduled for 1974.

WEATHER

	C	F	
ALGAEVE	17	63	Sunny
AMSTERDAM	19	66	Rain
ANKARA	21	70	Unvariable
ATHENS	21	70	Partly Cloudy
BEIRUT	25	77	Partly Cloudy
BERLIN	22	72	Very Cloudy
BELGRADE	24	75	Sunny
BOMBAY	29	84	Very Cloudy
BRUSSELS	20	68	Very Cloudy
BUDAPEST	23	73	Very Cloudy
CAIRO	31	88	Partly Cloudy
CASABLANCA	21	70	Very Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	17	63	Very Cloudy
COSTA DEL SOL	23	73	Partly Cloudy
DUBLIN	10	50	Very Cloudy
EDINBURGH	12	54	Very Cloudy
FLORENCE	26	79	Partly Cloudy
FRANKFURT	25	77	Partly Cloudy
GENEVA	23	73	Sunny
HELSINKI	18	64	Cloudy
ISTANBUL	28	82	Partly Cloudy
LAS PALMAS	20	68	Cloudy
LONDON	18	64	Very Cloudy
LONDON	14	57	Partly Cloudy
MADRID	26	79	Partly Cloudy
MILAN	24	75	Cloudy
MONTREAL	18	64	Partly Cloudy
MOSCOW	20	68	Partly Cloudy
MUNICH	22	72	Partly Cloudy
NEW YORK	27	81	Partly Cloudy
NICE	25	77	Partly Cloudy
OSLO	13	55	Rain
PARIS	17	63	Rain
PEACE	22	72	Sunny
ROME	22	72	Partly Cloudy
SOFIA	20	68	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	16	61	Overcast
TEL AVIV	27	81	Cloudy
TUNIS	28	82	Cloudy
VENICE	24	75	Partly Cloudy
VIENNA	22	72	Partly Cloudy
WARSAW	23	73	Cloudy
WASHINGTON	26	79	Partly Cloudy
ZURICH	25	77	Sunny

(U.S. temperatures taken at 1700 GMT.) (Others at 1200 GMT.)

U.S. Jets Bomb Rail Line, Fuel Station in N

SAIGON, June 4 (AP)—U.S. planes set afire a major fuel distribution station outside Hanoi and wrecked another section of the northeast railroad line linking Hanoi with China, a U.S. spokesman said today.

Pilots from the carrier Kitty Hawk said they destroyed three fuel storage tanks yesterday at the Hai Phong petroleum pumping station north of the port city. Pilots said they could see six fires and smoke at the center.

F-4 fighter-bombers using electronically guided bombs attacked the 100-mile northeast railroad line midway between Hanoi and China, a source of supplies for North Vietnam. Pilots said the bombs had cut the line at half a dozen points and had destroyed a dozen cars.

The raids were among more than 250 carried out by U.S. jets throughout North Vietnam. The U.S. command in Saigon said 16 bridges, 59 surface craft and 38 supply buildings had been destroyed or damaged.

Spokesmen said that the North Vietnamese had been trying to repair a few small bridges, but that these had been attacked again before work could be completed. U.S. reconnaissance jets are flying daily missions over North Vietnam, checking bombed targets for renewed attacks should the North Vietnamese try to repair them. The U.S. spokesman said there were no signs of any huge labor force, such as the 300,000 North Vietnamese assembled during the 1968-69 bombing campaign.

They said also that there had been no major movement of supplies by rail or truck from China. Spokesmen reported, however, an increase in river traffic.

Overcast skies reduced U.S. air strikes throughout South Vietnam to less than 200 on a daily average of nearly 400 during clear weather.

Except for the central front, fighting appeared to have tapered off in South Vietnam.

Among More Than 250 Strikes

Fighting continued in the Central Highlands provincial capital of Kontum and at the district town of Phan My on the central coast in Binh Dinh Province.

South Vietnamese military spokesmen announced that the sector of Kontum below its airstrip had been "completely cleared."

ed" of North Vietnamese forces and that 100 enemy soldiers had been killed without a single government casualty and without air or artillery support. The report appeared to be suspect since the number of weapons captured was put at 16.

Thirty miles northwest of

Kontum, 130 Mont made their way to a ranger camp, accompanied by a Fr army who was not id soldier from the Division, which in Tan Canh in April tagards came from

The Secret Report on My Lai Massacre

(Continued from Page 1)

at face value patently fraudulent reports from his subordinates.

Both Gen. Koster and Gen. Young failed to inform others on the division staff of the complaints and allegations about My Lai 4 and thus "effectively suppressed" information about it.

Lower-level staff officers of the Americal Division "probably conspired" to make false reports about the activities at My Lai 4 and participated in official investigations that were little more than "a pretense."

Scores of officers attached to the Americal Division and to the nearby provincial advisory headquarters knew many details of the massacre, as did many high-ranking Vietnamese officials whose reports were ignored.

In Washington, Rep. Les Aspin, D-Wis., demanded that the Army immediately make public the Peers report, the Associated Press reported. Mr. Aspin also asked that hearings be held on the entire handling of the My Lai case. He has already filed a freedom-of-information suit in federal court, seeking disclosure of the Peers report.

The full report, replete with such words as "murder," "conspiracy," "pretense," and "misrepresentation," is sharply critical of all aspects of the command and control structure in the Americal Division as of March 16, 1968, the date of the massacre. It shows that scores of officers, many of them high ranking,

learned of the extent of the atrocity within days or weeks but did nothing.

Gen. Koster and Gen. Young, for example, discussed the operation at noon on March 17, 1968, the day after it took place, the Peers inquiry said. Gen. Young in particular, the report said, had been given a full account that morning by two of his subordinates, Maj. Frederic W. Watke, commander of the helicopter company involved in support of the My Lai operation, and Lt. Col. John L. Holladay, Major Watke's commander.

By this time, the report said, the division leaders had also officially learned of the final tally for the operation, which was patently suspicious—128 Viet Cong killed and three captured, with two American deaths.

In addition, the report said, Gen. Koster was told by Col. Henderson on the night of the operation about the inadvertent death of 20 civilians. Weeks later, the report went on, a series of official complaints about the slaughter were made to Gen. Koster directly by his counterparts in the South Vietnamese Army.

According to the report, none of this information was ever forwarded, as Army regulations prescribed, to higher headquarters.

In the weeks after the massacre, the report concluded, the Americal Division was the principal headquarters to which information and reports concerning

the... operation y During their appeal the Peers inquiry, b ter and Gen. Young they had never full extent of the sla Lai and insisted it of 20 civilian dea the limit of their l

The final Peers was no direct eving that the men b My Lai. But it w probably thought it holding informatic a much less serious the war which ha cured."

Another serious c by the Peers repo generals concerned ness to accept "at of the exculpatory incident forwarded derson who was pe generals to investige misconduct of h The Peers report i pleted Col. Hende activity as "little pretense of an inve had as its goal "the true facts concern of 16 March."

Hampering its o gation, the Peers repeatedly, was the but a few of the m reports and investi Lai 4 had myst "purged" from the of the military age Vietnam.

Discussing the f chain of command pany level to divi ters, the Peers inq scores of men had even all of the sla Lai 4, including th participated in it, pilots who flew up and the 11th Bri fiers from Col. E down who were an killed over the are killings.

"It is evident to the report said, "aft ing most of those v the events... that attempt to interroa individuals immediat the incident would in full disclosure o Many testified in a m showed an eagernes what had apparently e great concern. If the real concern in the ch mand, if anyone had tion to ask questions, have had full an answers."

The Peers inquiry i difficulty in accessi bility for criminal su lower levels in the ch mand. It singled out f ensure none of the f the task force.

Col. Barker was ac Peers report of plan ing and actively di execution of an unli tion against inhabi which included de houses by burning, k stock, and the destru other foodstuffs, the closing of wells."

The Peers inquiry its outset that to review more effecti have to retrace the Charlie Company's through My Lai, 4 chapters in the find in for more explici sure before publishi mayhem committed Vietnamese.

For example, the several members of Platoon "testified t served an old Viet being bayoneted to member of the pla having seen another alive into a well and ly killed with a ha The Second Platoon report added, counti 3 men murdered as Members of that gr sought to take no c any prisoners, sus tainance while in My report said.

The report conclu Calley's men had 90 and 130 persons, Platoon about 100 r perhaps another 11 casualties resulting ooper gunships.

In its final reco submitted to Gen. Westmoreland, Arm Staff, and Stanley R. the Secretary of the three specific reor were made by the inq e That the suspect required to undergo i pursuant to possi martial.

That actions b improve the traini national law availa troops, including in the procedure for re crimes and the hand combatants.

That consideri to revisiting the p reporting war crime chain of command unit commander o in the chain of com plicated in or sanc crime."

A Conversation With Hanoi's Le Duc Tho

(Continued from Page 1)

ago with North Vietnam's two major allies cannot resolve the Vietnam problem. He said "the Vietnam problem will be settled by us in Paris with the United States."

"Both China and the Soviet Union have reaffirmed their strong support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people just like before," he said.

However, North Vietnam apparently still lacks detailed, concrete knowledge about exactly what did happen in Moscow concerning the Vietnam crisis. Mr. Tho said he assumes that if a Soviet delegation is sent to Hanoi to report on the Moscow talks, that will be announced.

Mr. Tho's official title is "special adviser" to the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris talks on Vietnam, which last month passed their fourth, stalemated year, counting preliminary exchanges here. Actually he is in control of Hanoi's on-the-scene strategy when he is here and is a principal shaper of that strategy as a senior member of the Politburo.

The interview took place yesterday at the closely guarded residence of Choisy-le-Roi. Mr. Tho has met secretly with presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger intermittently since August, 1969. Their last meeting was on May 2, before the mining of North Vietnam's harbors to cut off Soviet and other foreign sea shipments of military and other supplies. Dr. Kissinger has said the United States respects Mr. Tho as "a serious, dedicated spokesman for his side," who "does not generally return (to Paris) for trivial reasons."

Mr. Tho is an impressive man with silver hair. Yesterday he wore a smartly cut black tunic suit and said with a placid smile that he is waiting calmly for the interrupted negotiations to resume. He took nearly half of the four hours to present very deliberately, without, by Communist standards, heavy polemics, Hanoi's version of what has happened in the war during the three and a half years of the Nixon administration.

In the process, he made it clear than ever before that it is not North Vietnam's primary objective simply to get all U.S. forces withdrawn from the conflict.

He readily acknowledged that President Nixon "wanted to withdraw" remaining U.S. forces from the war.

"But," said Mr. Tho, speaking through a Vietnamese interpreter, "President Nixon wanted to let some things remain behind. What that is is a pro-Western puppet administration in South Vietnam. Therefore he is reluctant to withdraw completely. But

if he remains it will be difficult for him too. So both ways will be difficult.

Because now, if Mr. Nixon wanted to withdraw all U.S. forces, if the (negotiation) negotiations between both Vietnam parties (in South Vietnam) can't come to any settlement, and if the hostilities will be resumed (after a cease-fire), Mr. Laird (U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird) has stated in such cases the U.S. will continue to give strong air and naval support for the South Vietnamese administration to continue the war. So this is how Mr. Nixon understands U.S. withdrawal."

Mr. Tho was referring to a press conference statement by Secretary Laird last month. Mr. Laird was asked what the United States would do if the Communist side broke the cease-fire that President Nixon has proposed in a package arrangement to take all American forces out of Indochina within four months after agreement on a cease-fire and release of American prisoners.

Mr. Laird replied that he could not speak for U.S. policy in a hypothetical situation, but that he personally would recommend the reintroduction of American air and naval power if the Communist side violated a cease-fire.

Mr. Tho made a graphic point about the post-withdrawal, post cease-fire concern among North Vietnamese planners at a rare news conference May 22, in which he invoked the Arab-Israeli war to illustrate what is on Hanoi's mind. It is vital for North Vietnam to obtain a "comprehensive" peace settlement of military and political questions in the war, he said, and the continuing Middle East crisis shows why, Mr. Tho claimed. There, he said, there is a military cease-fire between Israel and the Arabs, no political solution, and the United States continues to arm and supply Israel. (The Soviet Union, of course, does the same for Egypt).

Mr. Tho discussed the U.S. mining of North Vietnam's harbors, which President Nixon ordered on May 8, with no braggadocio about Hanoi's ability to nullify it. He made no claim that North Vietnam can eliminate the mines. Instead, he stressed North Vietnam's ingenuity and resourcefulness in compensating for the damage caused to its supply lines by the American bombing and mining. At one point, he said, "Mr. Nixon's actions of intensifying the war naturally will cause certain difficulties and losses to the Vietnamese peoples."

In answer to the question "What is the effect of the mining on the situation?" Mr. Tho replied: "The mining has the effect of preventing the coming of foreign ships to North Vietnamese seaports. But it is impossible to prevent all contacts with North Vietnam."

"Communication and transport continues. The mining continues, but the communication and transport continues too... Because, a bridge may be destroyed by the U.S. bombing, but we have two or three floating bridges, pontoons, in replacement, and this is done in a very rudimentary way. (He sketches on a note pad, drawing one bridge knocked out, and four floating bridges replacing it.)

"Moreover, we have very long land frontiers. All ways cannot be sealed off."

Mr. Tho was asked to comment on claims by some U.S. officials "that the North Vietnamese offensive has bogged down, and has fallen short of its objectives." He naturally omitted referring in his reply to any "North Vietnamese offensive," but he made no special point of the distinction because Hanoi has approached admitting what it officially denied for years—that its regular armed forces fight in the South.

The North Vietnamese diplomatic strategist replied that "each person has had his own evaluation or guess" about when "the offensive of the liberation forces of South Vietnam" would come, where it would strike, how long it would last.

"There were some," he said, "who guessed that there could not be large-scale offensive as Mr. Nixon did, and actually, as Mr. Laird did. Now there is speculation about the offensive being bogged down, about the objectives not being reached."

"But there is one point which has been clear: that the Vietnamization policy is a failure now, and this is an accurate guess because it has happened and has become evident. As to whether the offensive has bogged down, I think we shall see in the future. The development on the battlefield is something continuous—every day... Please follow the situation and you will see."

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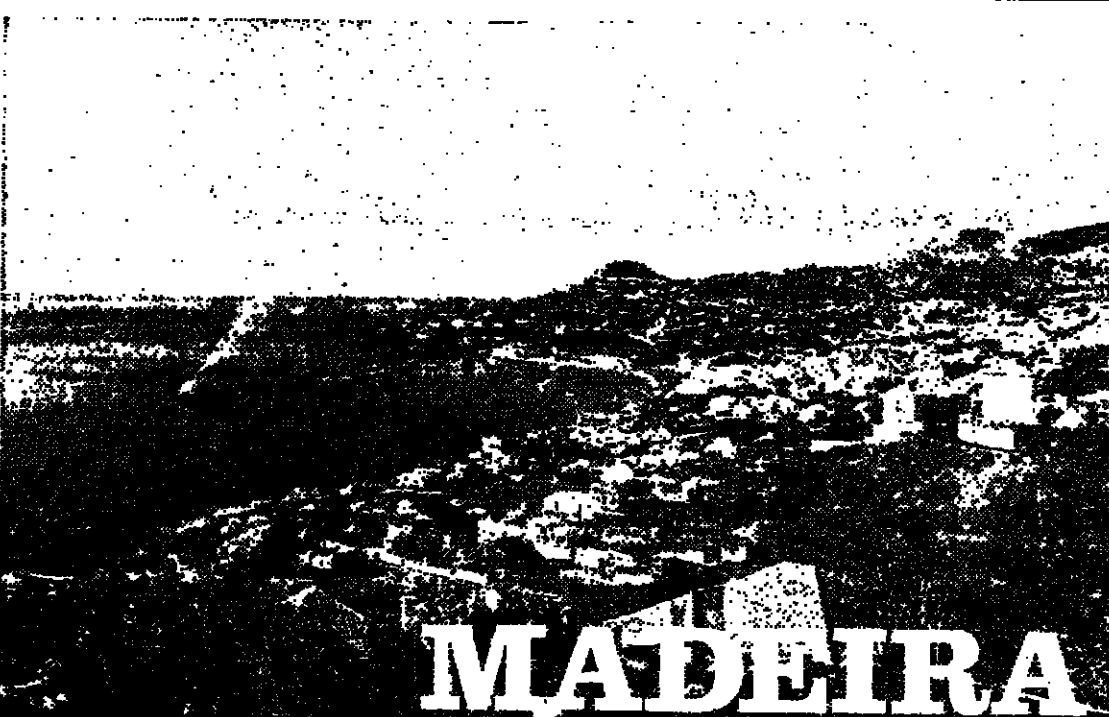
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part. "For some time Israeli intelligence agents had warned that the Palestinian guerrillas were about to unleash some spectacular stroke. Two weeks ago, in light of those warnings, Asher Ben Nathan, Israel's ambassador to France, was instructed to call on Hervé Alphand at the Foreign

before Lydda

The Japanese government, Mr. Fukunaga added, is not planning to ask Israel to contribute to the tax.

In accordance with his own wishes, commercial will be at a

about the acceptance of the duke's marriage only after his death. Yesterday, Ten Mikardo

and Bee, died Friday. Mr. Grant also was first vice-president and treasurer of Family Weekly, a

Base in southern :

The motion will cite the "hypocrisy, cant and humbug of the current establishment, including the royal family" over the treatment of the duke.

ple for work in a pluralistic society in an environment that is overwhelmingly white and male-oriented," said Mrs. Horace Haveman, chairman of the board.

from the Soviet Union, admitting that he had misled the people for anti-Soviet actions in the West.

agency said yesterday
fied the Belgian
Dobosch

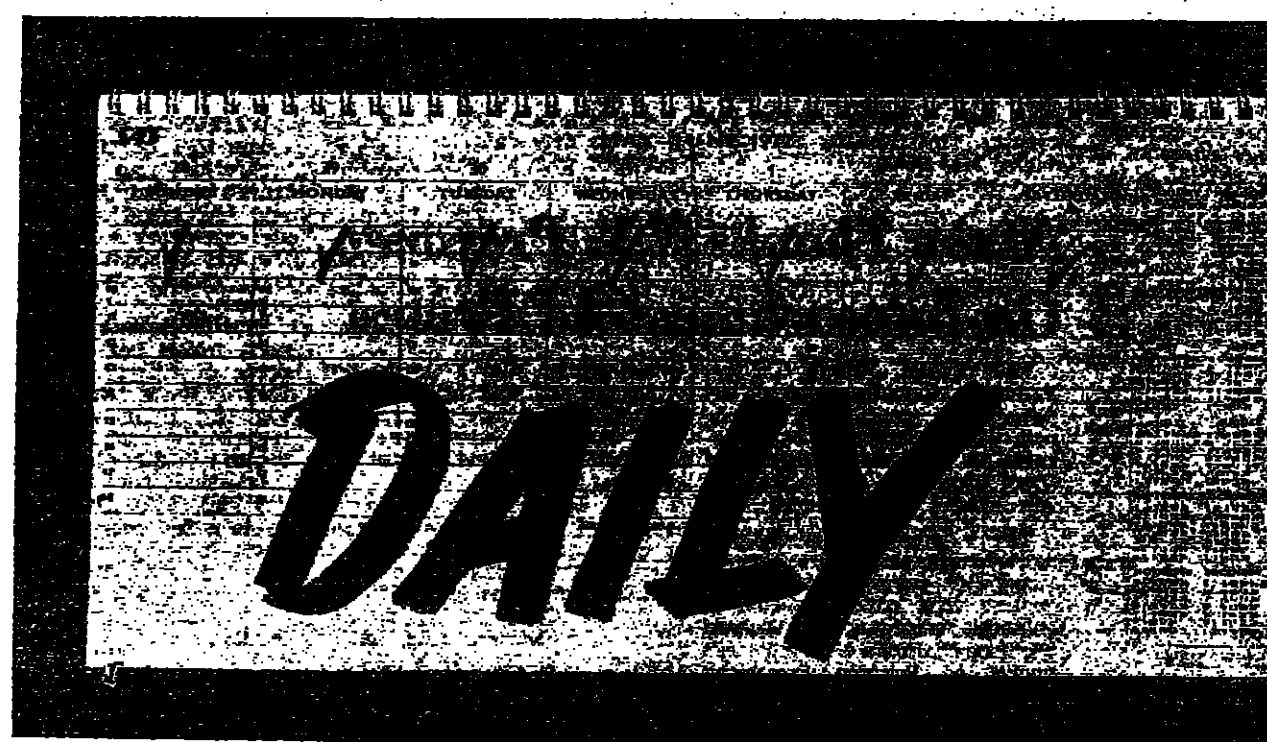
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The Kings Depart

"Gad, sir," said Marcel Proust's Due de Guermantes at the turn of the century, "kings and queens, in these days, don't amount to much." The author is careful to point out that M. de Guermantes said this because he wanted to be thought broad-minded and modern, and also to assume a modest air about his own friendships with royalty. For, 70-odd years ago, kings and queens amounted to a great deal. There were crowned heads from London to the Forbidden City, from the North Cape to the Cape of Good Hope, with varying degrees of authority and prestige, to be sure, but with enormous collective status.

Certainly, when Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, first-born son of the Duke and Duchess of York, was born in 1894, few could have imagined that at his death only a handful of monarchs would still be reigning, and fewer still ruling. And fewer still could have guessed at the strange destiny of the young prince, or, for that matter, of the realm to which he was heir apparent.

The sad stories of the death of kings, of which Shakespeare wrote, include many who have died by violence, at the hands of usurpers, subjects in revolt, alien conquerors, mere assassins. Some monarchs, too, have abdicated, whether by their own will or forced by others. But of all who laid down the pomp of state, who did it voluntarily for "the woman I love," as did Edward VIII? Doubtless this drama of renunciation played its part in bringing so many thousands to St. George's Chapel, where the Duke of Windsor, for a little less than a year king-emperor, rested under the banners of the Knights of the Garter. Doubtless, too, there were some who remembered a young Prince

of Wales who cut a bright swathe across a world weary by war.

But there must have been some, and not a few, to whom royalty represented a rock in times of fluidity, a tradition in an era seeking ever-new ways of life and thought, a centripetal force in a centrifugal world. Royalty, at its best in these days of predominantly constitutional monarchy, is a banner with a lineage longer than the flags that fly over ships and regiments. It is a human symbol of loyalty to a land and a people. Like a flag, it demands certain ceremonies and certain attitudes of respect—but like a flag, it cannot fly in the teeth of prevailing winds. It must, if it is to have the virtually universal support which modern monarchy requires for its survival, be not only politics but above, or aside from, politics. It is men who carry the flag, and fight for it—common men, who have uncommon ideas about what the flag represents. And the flag—or the monarch—cannot long contradict those ideas.

Some thought that Edward VIII might have invested royalty with qualities of positive leadership. Some believe that it was the fear of this, rather than any contradiction between his role in the Church of England and his marriage to a divorced woman, which led to his abdication. But the king may have been wiser than those who were ready to make a major issue of his retirement from the throne. He recognized that he might have won a political fight—but he also acknowledged that this would have been a defeat for the British ideal of monarchy; that it would have divided the empire whose unity he represented. For while the rationale of royalty as a symbol is still strong, the rationale of hereditary leadership by act, rather than by the fact of its existence, can no longer be sustained.

'Crucial First Steps'

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, opening in Stockholm today, should not be expected to save the environment from the various types of doom that, rationally or hysterically, are being predicted for it.

The conference will not be, like Congress, the kind of body that can pass laws to reduce the further polluting of air and water; neither is it to be a forum for free-flowing discussion. The first would imply a yielding of national sovereignty not remotely in sight; the second, a gathering of individuals responsible only to themselves, rather than an assembly of official delegations. But their coming together has rightly raised the world's expectations, and there are significant gains that the conference can and should deliver.

In his years of planning and arranging the Stockholm gathering, Secretary-General Maurice F. Strong has had to do some of the most delicate tightrope walking, as well as some of the most persuasive selling, done on the international scene in decades.

He had to work hard to convince some of the less developed countries even to send delegates, so suspicious were they that the whole environmental issue was a ruse to rob them of their turn to industrialize in haste, at whatever the cost to air, water, flora and fauna. He had to be wary of the sensitivities of countries that see agitation for the slowing of population growth as a racial threat and of others that fear recycling or no-growth policies in industrial nations as a potential check to their own exporting of raw materials.

Not least, Mr. Strong and his colleagues have had to deal—and still do—with the possibility that the Soviet Union and its allies will boycott the conference because of the barring of East Germany. The hope still is that at the last minute a way will be found to resolve this senseless complication.

International Opinion

New Stage for Europe

Europe now stands on the threshold of a new stage. Now that the Soviet-West German non-aggression treaty is ratified, the aim is to carry out all its provisions and for both sides to show goodwill. The four-power agreement on Berlin and the East-West German accords are other positive factors in Europe. The establishment of East-West German relations in accordance with the norms of international law and the admission of both German states to the United Nations would further improve the European atmosphere.

—From Pravda (Moscow).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

LONDON.—Dr. Fance, the police surgeon, made an examination yesterday of the body of the young woman found in the Thames on Thursday. She is described as about 30 years of age, with a fair complexion and brown eyes. She was a finely built woman, weighing 10 st., and it is the general belief that she met with foul play, her clothing having been removed to prevent identification. The investigation is continuing.

Massacre at Tel Aviv

Fearful that massacre at Tel Aviv's Lydda Airport would touch off anti-Japanese feelings and revive charges of militarism, Japanese officials—stunned by their countrymen's involvement in Middle East politics—have rushed to make things right. However, one can question the wisdom of the Japanese taking it too personally. Granted, the element of national shame enters the picture, but not to the extent that it should provoke the top leadership to query, "But are there Japanese who would do such a thing?"

—From the Post (Bangkok).

Fifty Years Ago

ROME.—The first congress of the Fascist trade unions which opens in Milan tomorrow, to continue through Wednesday, will present one of the most interesting spectacles in the history of Italian labor. They are trying to rally the labor force of the country away from Communist and Socialist leadership, and the Government is watching this attempt with great attention. Their leader is flamboyant Benito Mussolini.



Any Termites at the Top?

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS.—Death and political disappearance have been the two ways of changing post-Stalin Russia's power structure and the two most dramatic instances were those of Beria and Khrushchev. Beria was condemned and feared for his despicable habits and brutality. Khrushchev was considered uncultivated and cheap even by many who liked his switch from oppressive dictatorship.

Yet, important as personal factors were, foreign policy played a significant role in the departure from authority of each—Beria by assassination and Khrushchev by enforced unpopularity. In both cases their successful adversaries feared the despised leaders had been moving too far toward accommodation with the West.

Beria, most authoritative of the initial triumvirate who succeeded Stalin, sent secret inquiries to Bonn to try and arrange a deal. This odd tentative ended with a bullet in Beria's neck.

Khrushchev was ousted after even more audacious efforts to achieve friendship with the West. Following his Cuban humiliation, he explored new means of warming up relations with the U.S.A., after the menacing implications of the U-2 spy-plane case. And, to supplement this basic endeavor, he sent his son-in-law, Adzhubel, on an exploratory trip to Bonn to raise the prospect of Soviet-German friendship.

The Catalyst

It would seem that foreign affairs served as a catalyst if not an impulsion in each political demise. Therefore it is obviously worth considering whether Brezhnev, the present Soviet boss who ignored the American blockade of Russian ships in North Vietnam, could also come a cropper. It is not to be forgotten that already Brezhnev has carried through a rapprochement with West Germany, itself an unusual U.S.S.R. achievement for the U.S.S.R. which suffered so much from the Germans during World War II. The mere hint of such rapprochement with Bonn touched off political conflagrations

that ultimately consumed Khrushchev.

Brezhnev has his opponents but, unlike the pernicious Beria and the egomaniac Khrushchev, he is not widely regarded as either a figure of wickedness or of sarcasm. The chairman is a member of the new class that dominates Soviet society, in those terms a "social climber"—like so many of his peers. Willy Brandt, the German Chancellor, was somewhat surprised to be taken along the Crimean coast on Brezhnev's yacht.

The party chief is an earthy man with no inhibitions about discussing which of his colleagues is being outkicked or is being unfaithful. He has gusto and energy—the kind of politician for which our own frontier was once renowned. In elaborating his détente with West Germany and the United States, he demonstrated much skill. He subtly used France as a pawn to prompt German reaction helpful to his aims and also to weaken West European solidarity sufficiently to make Washington amenable to its own superpower dialogue.

Number One

Brezhnev has succeeded in affirming his pre-eminence as Number One and backing this position up with a positive foreign policy. Has he won the game? Are his views no longer challenged? Is his power fully entrenched?

As dominant boss he has probably achieved an apogee, but there is still known opposition among hardliners who disapprove of his bias toward the West. These hardliners surely include Andropov, secret police chief, Marshal Grechko, Defense Minister, and Shelest, until recently head of the Ukraine.

Shelest has already been demoted to a lesser post. Are other demotions coming? Since Brezhnev failed to back those who wanted to intervene physically against Israel in 1967, the hawks have been after his scalp. First came the hint of such a move when Shelest was Stasov, who preceded Andropov as security chief.

There is almost always a power struggle in and around the Kremlin and, oddly enough, it often involves foreign affairs. A hard line toward China means a soft line toward the West. Even Khrushchev knew that.

At this instant, in the wake of the Nixon visit, Brezhnev looks impenetrably strong. Chou En-lai, the real Peking boss, seems to need Nixon's help in keeping an upper hand over internal opponents while Nixon welcomes China's help in preventing the Vietnam war from flaring out of control and getting himself re-elected. Time will demonstrate whether Brezhnev also is forced to join this mutual-dependents' club. Nations are already interdependent, are politicians?

Yesterday's villain is today's partner in tomorrow's promises of peace and prosperity. Chou En-lai invites, President Nixon, to Peking, and Lin Biao, Mao Tse-tung's chosen successor, disappears in the convulsion. India, America's democratic ally in South Asia, destroys East Pakistan with the help of the Soviet Union.

Moscow arms North Vietnam to invade South Vietnam, and President Nixon responds by mining the Haiphong harbor and

NEW YORK.—The seizure of the Iraq Petroleum Co. by the Iraqi and Syrian governments has the potential to become the greatest crisis in world oil since the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry by Premier Mohammed Mossadeq in the early 1950s.

Unlike the 1950s, however, the Western companies and countries no longer hold all the cards and, with the Russian bear now a familiar party in Middle East politics, the semi-gambol diplomacy of that period would appear out of the question.

The extent of the present crisis depends upon how far the two contestants are willing to go to achieve their desired goals. The confrontation could set in motion a radical change in the framework of the world's oil industry that would include nationalization by other oil-producing nations.

Compensation

On the other hand, the Iraqis have said that they would pay compensation and, if the amount is acceptable to the Western oil

The Unpredictable Game Of Politics

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—The "experts" have it all figured out. By all the rules of the game, George McGovern is going to win the Democratic Presidential nomination in July and he is to be crowned Richard Nixon in the general election in November. But there are no experts and there are no reliable rules any longer, and even the grinning champions worry about their successes in the night.

Politics is now the greatest gamble of modern life—less predictable than race horses or the stock market, or even marriage. Maybe it was always so. It took Franklin Roosevelt, the Hyde Park politician, to introduce the welfare state into America, and Richard Nixon, the anti-Communist conservative, to go to Moscow and Peking.

So the prophets are in trouble, and no wonder. Not so very long ago, everybody knew that John Kennedy was starting a Presidential dynasty and would be followed by Bobby and Teddy, but the accidents of life changed all that. Even Richard Nixon announced his retirement from politics in 1962, and here he is a decade later, breathing suspensefully over all the policies he once denounced.

Surprises

And the surprises go on. Ed Muskie, the Democratic winter-book favorite, has almost dropped from sight. Hubert Humphrey, the old radical populist, is denouncing "radicalism" and counting on the labor "leaders" who no longer have many followers. George Wallace, the Southern candidate, carries the Northern union state of Michigan, and is shot by a man wearing a Wallace button.

Meanwhile, George McGovern came along as a minor son in an unbelieved age from the days of electoral state of South Dakota, using the techniques of the old politics and calling them the "new politics" and, in the confusion, knocked over all the theories of the big states, big bosses, big press and television.

So there is a puzzle, and not only here in America. General de Gaulle picks Pompidou as his successor in France and is destroyed by him. Harold Wilson is so confident of victory and so contemptuous of Edward Heath that he loses political power in Britain and is now so determined to prove he was right that he is in danger of losing control over his own party.

Yesterday's villain is today's partner in tomorrow's promises of peace and prosperity. Chou En-lai invites, President Nixon, to Peking, and Lin Biao, Mao Tse-tung's chosen successor, disappears in the convulsion. India, America's democratic ally in South Asia, destroys East Pakistan with the help of the Soviet Union. Moscow arms North Vietnam to invade South Vietnam, and President Nixon responds by mining the Haiphong harbor and

bombing the Peking roads; but Mr. Brezhnev Mr. Nixon in the E they sign agreement "restraint" in their r each other and with tries, while the most-s ing of the century s in Vietnam.

So it is not easy where all this human conflict will come nobody knows this Richard Nixon. He h well in foreign policy unbeatable in early from his triumphs a disarray of the Demo

But if there is a point to all these switches in politics abroad, it is that per orments, whatever ogies, tend to set on. And no sooner had M back to Washington t sion to Moscow than Vietnam and the Am any were back in the

Home Front

Hanoi was deno agreements in Mosco ly" condemning Bre vowing to carry on a definitely. And his Department was tme there were still over Americans unemploy cent out of work i straight month. Negr ment up to 10.7 fr about 300,000 young still without jobs.

Accordingly, it will time to work all this thing is moving in which the candidate agers and the rep quite faithless. The chinery of the part labor unions has b The new McGovern which has worked u could concentrate on the nation. And the the problems of ap economy, which has see between now an

Short-range guess enough. McGovern is of the priorities with a strong organization change than anybody ing the advantages of the rise of the s of young people. A President is coming to vented period with a dramatic foreign pol great weakness: ex from

So it is hard to know what happens in the economy. There s more important than than the visits to Moscow. This is Meo and Nixon's fear. S it tactics" have colla years, here and abroa the President and Sen Government are bound to w long they will ride as they now are

The Iraqi Oil Seizure

By William D. Smith

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The extent of the present crisis depends upon how far the two contestants are willing to go to achieve their desired goals. The confrontation could set in motion a radical change in the framework of the world's oil industry that would include nationalization by other oil-producing nations.

On the other hand, the Iraqis have said that they would pay compensation and, if the amount is acceptable to the Western oil

companies, the present situation would not reach tidal-wave proportions.

For the moment the Iraqi government is doing all the talking and the companies are waiting for the dust to settle before commenting.

The Iraqi move took the companies by surprise. The government had been threatening to nationalize for almost 10 years if IPC did not meet various demands.

IPC, which is owned 25 3/4 percent each by British Petroleum, the Royal Dutch Shell group and Compagnie Française des Pétroles and 11 7/8 percent by Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) and the Mobil Oil Corp. and 8 percent by the Gulfstream Petroleum Co., for its part, has demanded compensation from Iraq for its 1961 takeover of the North Rumaila field.

The Iraqi government did not nationalize the Mosul and Basrah oil fields controlled by the same Western companies but only Kirkuk and the oil pipelines and pumping stations. This indicated,

according to some studies, that the government was not to remove Iraq to the West.

In its present contract with Iraq and the V companies, neither is to be holding an over strong hand. Some say that this is good but tend that it could lead to a conflict during the next few years, who need of developing oil products, who need capital

Old Equations
The old equation of your oil but you need more oil still hold up rat the situation would not national," one oil economist.

The denial of the 1.1 million barrels of industrial nations, to not create much of. At present, Europe have good stocks; the summer season is heavy usage. Tanker their lowest and are from anywhere in the that much a prob

On June 9, however ask support from the tion of Petroleum. Countries for its act support is likely to be least on the surface

If the other OPEC n Iraq by imposing an e their oil to the Wes partially, then the w situation and the barga tion of the Western would be seriously we

Letters

View From Within

As one of those 934 Americans imprisoned in foreign jails for drug offenses, I would like to say, in hopes that a personal appeal might have some impact, that if placed on a scale the fleeting euphoria of drug usage would in no way equal the very real and lasting trauma that may result from arrest for use of such drugs.

In many cases European drug laws are much harsher than our own and as a foreigner, if arrested, one can often expect to be jailed for up to six months before trial, without bail and whether guilty or not.

Though life in prison is not too pleasant it is not without its particular benefits. In many ways I have learned more practically how to relate to life, of the importance of personal relationships and the few things if any, of a tangible nature, are worth the sacrifice of one's freedom. Cer-

tainly drugs are not worth the sacrifice of something so precious.

LEE RUSHING,
Stadelheim, West Germany.

Brezhnev's Cars

Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev eats well, has a dacha outside Moscow and a boat, and being a car buff, is not only the proud owner of a Rolls-Royce Silver Cloud but a Citroën-Maserati given him by President Pompidou when the Russian visited France last October.

And now Richard Nixon, as a parting gift to the Soviet leader, to commemorate their successful summit meeting, presented him with a Cadillac sedan. All that the Kremlin big-shot need do now is join a swanky golf club and he will have it made—he will at last be living the life of an American capitalist while the workers in the Soviet Union, who for over 50 years have been starved and oppressed by their Communist overlords still have nothing to

lose but their chains and the world to gain.

Will many of them ever be able to buy a car? They should live so long!

STEPHEN MADERICK,
Clamart, France.

Buckley Blamed

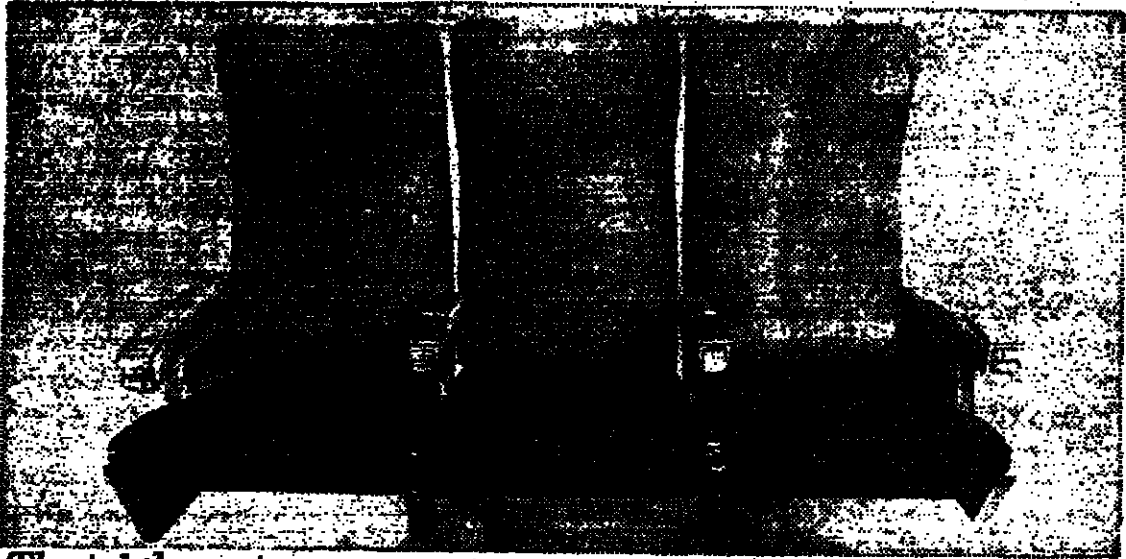
After reading William Buckley's article "McGovern, yet it the National Mood" (NYT, May 30), I truly believe he has reached the limits of his decadent rhetoric. Cry out hard and loud, as hard as you can, Mr. Buckley, but the day is coming closer when people in America will "pay the medical bills and take away H. H. Hunt's money." Maybe the day will come when you cannot take your holidays in Switzerland as much as you do now, but people, all the people in America shall eat better and not be sick due to the fact and humiliation that they can not afford to see a doctor. We shall have a better America. Your hollow words will not stop the surge of humanity

that you have never understood. It may not be McGovern, yet it shall come, for the young people who support him shall inherit the mess that your warped ideas have wrought onto this small planet.

JON CHRISTENSEN,
Sorgvæn, Denmark.

الأمم المتحدة

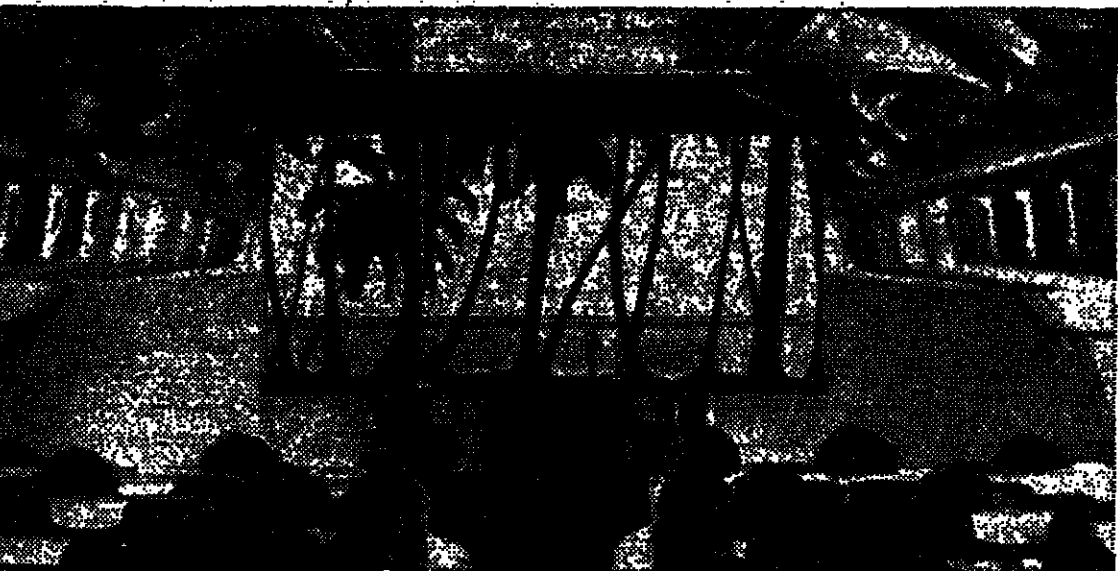
WHAT YOU GET ON THE AVERAGE ECONOMY SERVICE TO AMERICA.



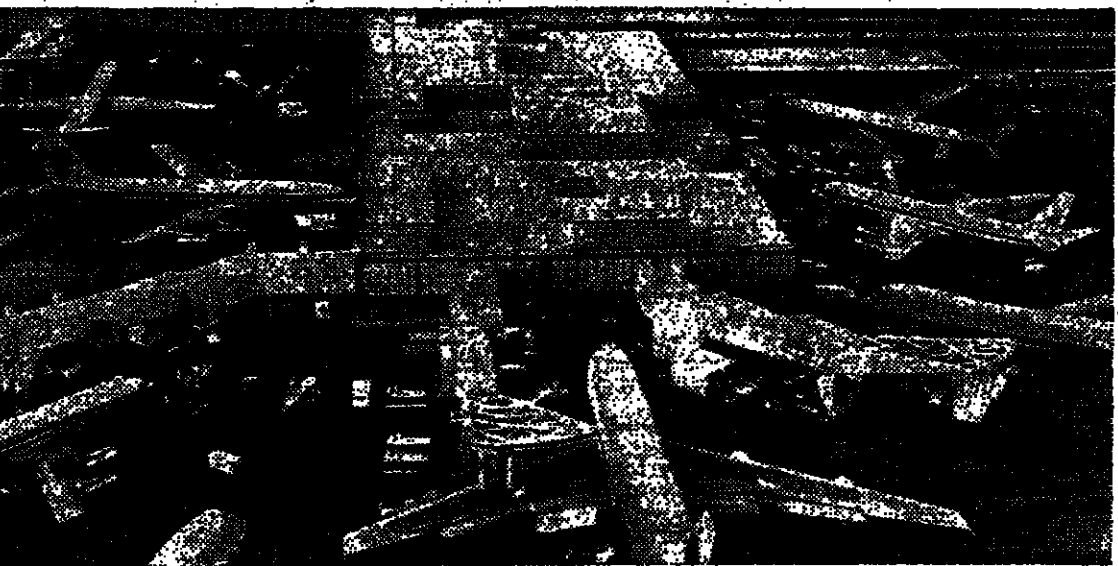
The triple seat.



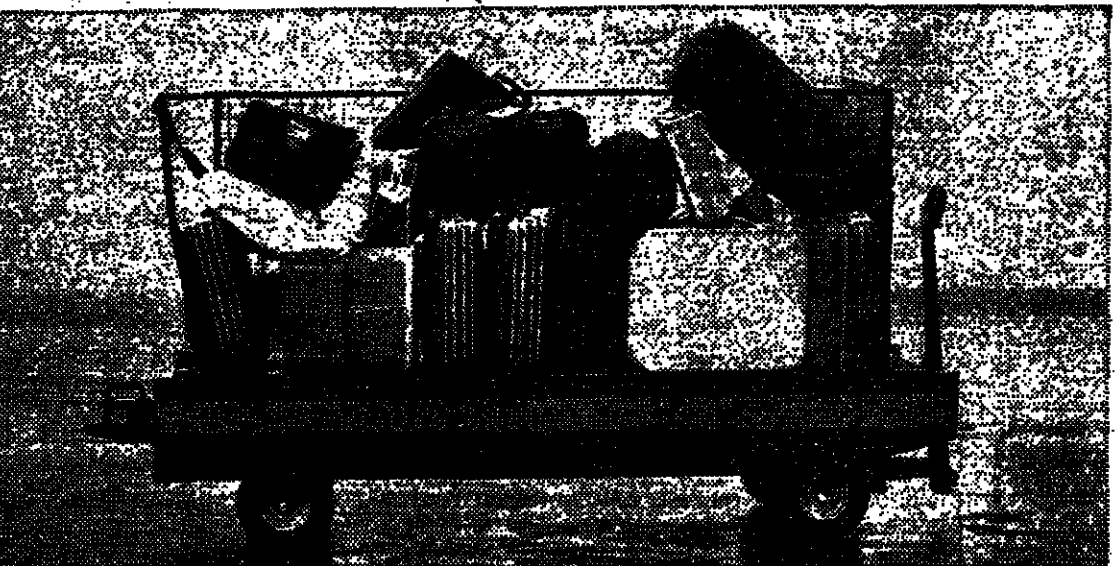
No choice.



One film, or no film.

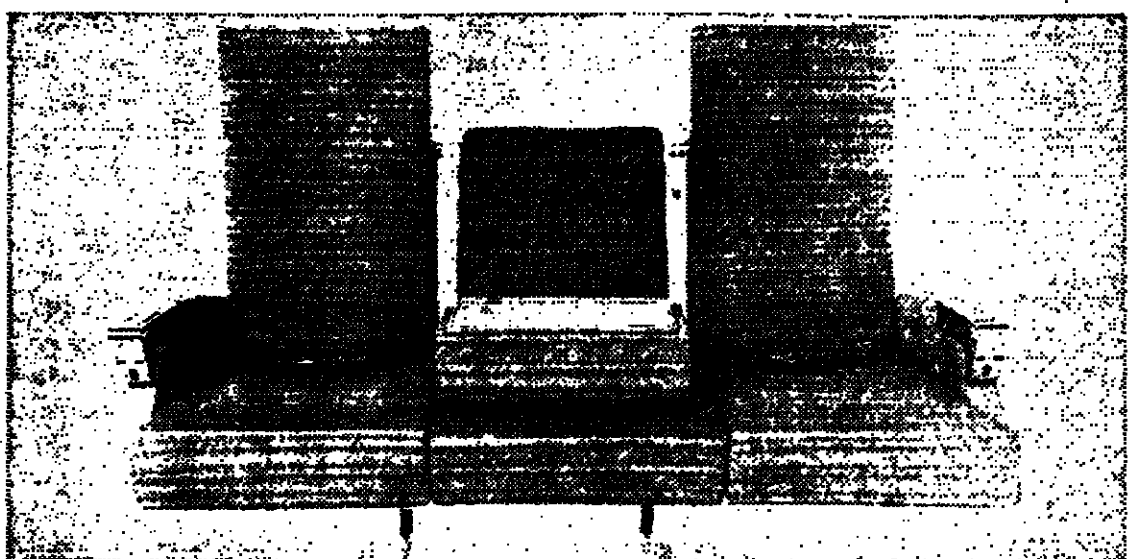


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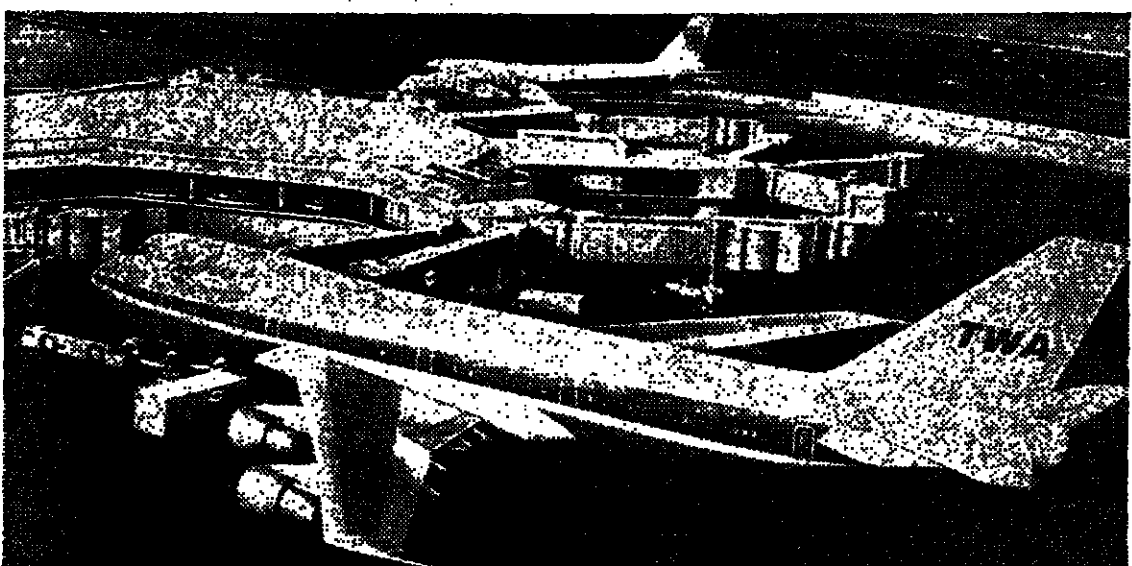
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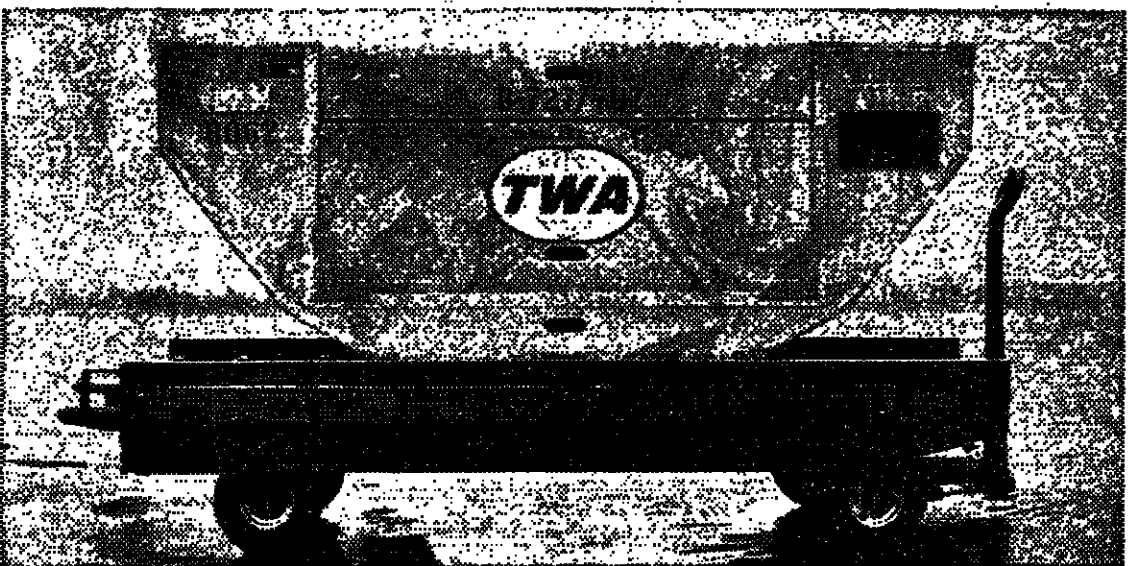


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Man's Debt to Nature Must Be Paid in More Than Recycled Beer Cans

By Barry Commoner

The writer is director of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University. His latest book is "The Closing Circle." This article is excerpted by permission from the June issue of Harper's magazine.

WASHINGTON (WP).—The United Nations is simultaneously an instrument designed to solve the problems of the world and itself an extension of these problems—an instrument flawed by its own purpose. The UN Conference on the Human Environment, to begin in Stockholm today, is an effort to escape this dilemma. It tests the hope that, confronted with a truly common problem—global survival—otherwise contented nations might actually cooperate and win a collective victory.

U Thant put it this way: "Perhaps it is the collective menace, arising from the world's scientific and technological strides and from their mass consequences, which will bind together nations, enhance peaceful cooperation and surmount, in the face of physical danger, the political obstacles to mankind's unity."

Jesse Unruh, the California politician, once expressed a related idea in less diplomatic language: "Ecology has become the political substitute for the word 'motherhood.'"

If the subject of the Stockholm conference was originally conceived as a kind of global "motherhood issue," it soon began to lose that status. One messy problem was the general East-West split in the United Nations. The U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia boycotted the last meeting of the conference preparatory committee because no means had been found to enable East Germany to participate; their presence at the conference is not assured.

A Hot Potato

Furthermore, the environment itself turned out to be a politically hotter potato than it seemed at first. Here, for example, are a few of the major issues that have surfaced during the preparation for the conference.

● Whites vs. nonwhites: According to conventional wisdom (if not hard evidence), the primary reason for the environmental crisis is that the earth's human population is growing too fast for the planet's limited resources. Since environmental concerns are usually voiced by whites, while the most rapidly growing populations are nonwhite, the latter may well regard the outcry as the white man's hangup: that he is—at last—

being crowded out of his secure and comfortable niche in the world.

If this response is crude, some of the instigating statements are at least as crude. Consider these blunt observations on the problem by one of our leading environmentalists, Garret Hardin: "Every day we (Americans) are a smaller minority. We are increasing at only 1 percent a year; the rest of the world increases twice as fast. By the year 2000, 1 person in 24 will be an American; in 100 years only 1 in 48. . . . Those who breed faster will replace the rest. . . . In the absence of breeding control a policy of 'one mouth one meal' ultimately produces one totally miserable world. . . . It is unlikely that civilization and dignity can survive everywhere; but better in a few places than in none. Fortunate minorities must act as the trustees of a civilization that is threatened by uninformed good intentions."

● Haves vs. have-nots: Another piece of conventional wisdom attributes the environmental crisis to the heavy demands on resources and the environment generated by increasing per capita consumption. This leads to a similar conflict between industrialized and developing nations.

Lady Barbara Ward Jackson, who has written the official background report for the Stockholm conference, told a recent Vatican meeting that although three-quarters of the world's resources have now been taken over by the third of the world population that is industrialized, this could not continue indefinitely because "high consumption means high wastes," threatening environmental collapse. She added: "If these results follow from the high standards of only a quarter of humanity, what might not happen to planet Earth if three-quarters sought the same levels of income?"

● Harmful help: A third assertion about the origins of environmental pollution—that it is the inevitable concomitant of an

industrialized society—deepens the developing nations' concern about the impact of the Stockholm conference.

After all, industrialization has been their main hope for improved living standards. Since they depend on aid from the industrialized countries for most of the needed technology, they fear that, on environmental grounds, they may be deprived of such aid "for their own good."

Concrete Issues

These are not merely abstract issues. The State Department has begun to stress population control in its discussion of foreign aid. Stiffened U.S. regulations on the allowable amounts of pollutants, such as DDT in food, have already led to serious rejections of Argentine beef and other imports from developing countries—worsening their already poor trade position.

Meanwhile, at least one developing country, Brazil, has openly invited high-polluting industries to avoid expensive environmental controls at home by escaping to Brazil's still unpolluted jungles and shorelines.

The pre-conference discussions have concentrated on the technical aspects of environmental problems—monitoring and control of pollutants, planning and management of natural resources and urban settlements, educational and organizational needs. They have skirted the far more complex area in which these problems clash with the realities of economic and political systems.

For example, in 10 pages on pollution control, the conference documentation makes no mention of the one issue that, certainly in the United States, is becoming the major obstacle to the control of industrial pollution—its effects on profits and employment.

Nor is there any mention of the U. S. action that has placed the most powerful constraints on further pollution—the legal requirement that government agencies produce an environmental impact statement that rates the environmental effects of proposed programs.

Similarly, the pre-conference documentation on energy problems urges nations to limit the growth of their demand for power, ignoring the hard fact

that a good deal of this growth is due to the replacement of human labor by electric power in modern industry—a process that is largely responsible for



Defied in RCA's Electronic Age

much as four times higher than that of synthetic rubber.

Demand for natural rubber was high partly because of U.S. stockpiling. When in 1960 the stockpile was sold off—indeed, dumped as surplus—natural-rubber sales were hard hit. Because of increasing price competition from synthetic rubber, the price of natural rubber fell from 43 cents a pound in 1960 to 23 cents a pound in 1970. As a result, in Malaysia, despite a 31 percent increase in natural rubber between 1960 and 1968, the total market value of the crop decreased 33 percent.

With prices plummeting, efforts were made to salvage the economic viability of Malaysian rubber holdings. To increase the labor productivity of the large plantations, chemical pesticides, more efficient strains and new tapping techniques were introduced, causing extensive unemployment. In addition, diversified rubber and off-palm cultivation was promoted. Compared to rubber trees, off-palm monoculture is much more vulnerable to pest infestations. In the early 1960s nervous growers responded to some minor insect pest attacks on oil palms with massive spraying of DDT and other synthetic insecticides.

This triggered an ecological backlash: The insecticides killed off the insect predators that had previously kept pest populations in check. As a consequence, the natural control, the pests multiplied explosively, producing huge infestations that nearly stripped the palm plantations bare.

Thus Malaysia, already burdened by the economic effects of competition from one petrochemical product—synthetic rubber—became, in addition, a classic victim of the ecological onslaught of another one—DDT.

Barriers to Sanity

Obviously, a return to ecological sanity would call for the abandonment of the U.S. synthetic-rubber industry and the increase of natural-rubber production in Malaysia and other habitats of the rubber tree sufficient to meet world demand.

The usual objection is that the total demand could not be met in that way. But right now world production includes about 3 million long tons of natural rubber and 5 million long tons of synthetic. Thus, a rough tripling of natural production would take over the total market.

And this seems quite possible. In Malaysia, half the total crop comes from large, efficient plantations that produce about 750 pounds an acre; the remainder is produced by small growers, at a yield of about 340 pounds an acre. If those growers reached maximum efficiency, the total crop would be increased by about 50 percent.

Moreover, new genetic rubber-tree varieties that have just begun to enter production can produce as much as 3,000 pounds an acre. It seems likely that natural rubber could supply world demand—if only economic and political interests did not stand in the way.

Here, then, are some of the economic and political consequences of an ecologically sane return to natural rubber: essential abolition of the synthetic-rubber industry in the United States and other industrialized countries; a resultant decline in demand for basic petrochemicals; the loss of at least some manufacturing industries based on rubber, such as tires, to natural-rubber producing countries; the dependence of United States and other military establishments on foreign rubber. No wonder ecology has been called "the subversive science."

What such cases tell us is that environmental degradation is not simply the outcome of some general expansive process, growth of population, or the demand for goods, but of specific changes in the ways goods are produced, which are themselves governed by powerful economic and political considerations.

A Thin Skin

The foregoing are some small examples of certain very large global facts: That the earth's thin skin, which is the sole support of human society, comprises a huge network of interdependencies (the "ecosphere") among the marvelous varieties of living things, between each of them and their physical and chemical surroundings, and between man and all the rest.

That since all human life and every productive activity depend on the ecosystem, any human action that destroys it is suicidal; and therefore that all human productive activities, and the economic principles that govern them, must obey these ecological imperatives.

That the solution of the environmental crisis is not to be found in new kinds of automobile mufflers or in legal constraints on waste emissions but in the radical reorganization of national economies and international commerce along lines that make ecological sense.

This is some measure of the urgent need for the UN conference, and of the profound issues it must confront. How well the conference will meet this need is in considerable doubt, for most of the basic issues will have a difficult time breaking into the conference agenda. Few of them have penetrated

through the maze of meetings, background conferences, reference documents, conference floor sessions may yet be open. But even if real issues are on the agenda, for the host to much more of a challenge.

For months, and with the Stockholm has been bombardment "How do I hold?"—from ecologists, economists, ecologists, eco-activists, food fans and admirers of life-styles, no public-relations ad firms and salesmen controls.

Anticipating intense interest in survival, the conference planned a seminar on environment, science, and civic groups could participate.

Activist's View

Meanwhile, activist groups, especially of the problems of countries, are hopeful their views at the Forum, or if need during the time of the conference, excluded from the "origins of the crisis in economic within nations and in militarism, and patterns."

It was probably in that no official UN question the inter organization of its time, that the wide of ecological imper design of economic be minimized.

It was perhaps a given the numerous efforts to rid the awful menace of that this environment should be excluded agenda as for action. The UN part of the real world that is, still, tragically by poverty, racial war. "What seems environmental issues: others is the ones which, if pressed to long-standing, some flicks that trouble."

In many crucial to "nature" symbol world's mounting but humans has temporal these conflicts.

If part of the truth using a pulp mill as mortgaging the environment of Puget Sound, then to the the conflict of the and operators be in U.S. Army trucks and with tires made thetic rubber instead natural rubber, to is the true collectivist obscured, and the is protected from view.

Out of C

The environment signal that we have ecological credit, to pay the debt to bankruptcy, now well known.

What is just becoming apparent is cannot be paid in cans or in the per ing to work; it w paid in the ancient justice—within nations.

In this sense, the crisis has become a dangerous political weapons back into centralism, racism, survival, the incursion between the economic entrepreneur and woi absurdity of war.

The crisis force, long-avoided choice sanity demands the ment of power co production of a built-in obsolescence society, will the trols be localized? must, on ecological come more depend other's indigenous; we avoid the ancient international exploits. As these issues at the view of the w holm, new steps toward making the men that must p with nature.

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Always an Impact

Since power generation is never free of some environmental impact—if only from heat emissions—there is no way to reduce pollution without cutting into industrial production, labor productivity, or both. The economic consequences of such cutbacks would, of course, be very severe.

As we learn more about the intricate connections between the environment and the economic system, it becomes increasingly evident that environmental improvement is a zero-sum game; if the environment wins, someone loses.

How deeply environmental issues are embedded in basic economic conflicts is particularly clear when they involve developing nations. Take rubber production. Before World War II, rubber came from a single, natural source—the rubber tree. The rubber tree can flourish as part of a natural ecological system in the tropics. Its leaves absorb energy from the sun, which is then transferred, in an intricate series of biochemical steps, to a complex molecule in the tree sap that, upon being tapped, yields latex and, eventually, the rubber of commerce.

Thus, the energy required to assemble the rubber molecule is derived from a renewable resource—the sun that rises every day—and is transferred by natural, cool, nonpolluting processes within the plant, which as a side benefit also produces oxygen. Ecologically, this is an ideal way to obtain the needed good, rubber.

It Happened

In contrast, synthetic rubber is made from petroleum or natural gas by a series of elaborate chemical reactions involving temperatures ranging up to 1,000 F. Ecologically, this is a very costly process: it consumes a nonrenewable source, and the heat needed to achieve the high process temperatures pollutes the environment with waste-combustion products.

Obviously, it makes no ecological

sense to displace natural with synthetic rubber. Yet it happened—not because of the pressure of rising population or consumption but for military reasons. None of the belligerents in World War II produced natural rubber domestically, and overseas shipment became a serious military liability. The United States and Germany hastened to produce synthetic rubber.

After World War II no thought was given to closing the U.S. synthetic-rubber industry: The military wanted never to be caught again in the position of relying on imports of natural rubber. During the Korean war, synthetic production was sharply stimulated, doubling between 1950 and 1955. In a Cold War panic, huge stockpiles of synthetic and natural rubber, as well as other strategic materials, were accumulated. By 1970, U.S. synthetic-rubber production was nearly equal to world production of natural rubber.

The synthetic-rubber industry is part of a vast, interconnected complex of new petroleum-based industries—the petrochemicals, which include synthetic fibers, plastics, detergents, insecticides and herbicides. Add automobiles, oil tankers, and pipelines to this list and you have a good fraction of the pollution problems of industrialized countries—all emanating from petroleum.

Interactions among the various parts of the petrochemical complex intensify their separate environmental effect. The automobile is the chief driving force. By sharply increasing the auto engine's size and power, Detroit has raised engine temperatures and hence the output of nitrogen oxides from auto exhaust—the crucial ingredient in smog. Moreover, to suppress engine knock at high cylinder pressures, lead was added to the gasoline—another source of air pollution.

And as smog increased, chemical oxidants pervaded urban air, attacking rubber tires, reducing their life and increasing the demand for rubber—which was rising anyway because the heavier, high-powered cars needed larger tires. So while it is true that we use more rubber per capita than before, it is worth remembering that much of it is consumed, uselessly, to sustain the destructive evolution of Detroit's monsters.

Another Menace

Clearly, the United States has paid a price for switching from natural to synthetic rubber. And we are not alone. Through an intricate chain of political, economic and ecological events, the development of U.S. synthetic rubber has created severe environmental problems in Malaysia and other natural-rubber-producing countries.

Between 1945 and 1950, natural rubber made a strong comeback and dominated the world market, although selling at a price as

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An Interview With Willy Brandt

By Joe Alex Morris and Don Cook

(Mr. Morris and Mr. Cook, the Los Angeles Times correspondents in Bonn and Paris, respectively, talked to German Chancellor Willy Brandt privately during conference of NATO foreign ministers in Bonn.)

Chancellor Willy Brandt is cautiously optimistic about chances for détente. He is well aware of the risks, of how sudden shifts in the fortunes of far away people can overnight alter the world. But he is convinced that—for various reasons—the present leadership wants a relaxation in Europe and a healing of the rift left behind by its division into two cold war camps. When the 58-year-old chancellor and last year's Nobel Peace laureate talks about détente, he likes to start with Berlin. Brandt must mean something that, with a background of 20 years' experience, the interests of both (superpowers) have made it possible to find a compromise which is not a solution, he said, "but an agreement with which one can live better than one did before."

I compare the contents of the four-power agreement with the 1945 Potsdam conference, he said. "It looks much better."

Brandt said the four-power agreement, formally enacted into law by the Bundestag, means the Russians now recognize the division of Germany and West Berlin, but it means even more. "The Berlin agreement also means that, with the acceptance of the United States is engaged in the center, in the heart of Europe, not to talk about the humanitarian aspects which, we are very much essential too."

Brandt sees a certain inevitable logic in current world developments. Without a Berlin settlement, the Russians could not enter relations with West Germany. Without West Germany, the Western powers could not have better relations with the East. And without the East, the Western powers could not have better relations with the West.

Brandt took some time. "This does not, of course, mean that any guarantee that the Russians will not fall back into the old position—not at all. Therefore I think it is no longer a question of whether we have a balanced policy in NATO, combining these elements of military preparedness and openness for negotiation."

Nevertheless, he clearly felt the political forecast was favorable. "I think we can have better relations with Western Europe and the United States. It is not as if the present Russian leadership, for a number of reasons, would not have better relations with Western Europe and the United States."

It is not as if one does not combine this interpretation with the fact that, I think, we could perhaps make some progress."

Brandt was asked why he thought the Russians should be playing a more active role. "They must have understood the situation. It is not a failure politically," Mr. Brandt said.

Brandt got the impression when I talked to (Soviet Communist party leader) Leonid Brezhnev, especially in 1971, that he was concerned about how much money was spent on armaments, how much on other things modern society needed. In certain parts of his speech he argued like a United States senator."

Brandt views Mr. Brezhnev as a trustworthy man who has human concern for his people. "And he is curious. He does not know very much about the Western world, I would say, but this very year—from 1970 to 1971—how much his interest has been in the United States. He was a little bit less dogmatic."

Brandt said the United States and the Soviet Union could maintain world peace. But there was always "the risk" that things were going on in the uncontrolled areas could over, and also that—for reasons which we do not understand—now enough about that things within the Soviet Union could in another direction. I think one must always make that reservation."

There are other delicate problems of détente even closer to home. Brandt was asked whether he thought Mr. Brezhnev was not



taking great risk by committing the East Germans to the overall effort.

"There is no doubt that he has been cooperative there, and he has asked very much from the East German Communist leaders—much more than their security people, not to mention the dogmatic party leaders, thought they should do. But it looks as if they can manage it."

Mr. Brandt was asked about the conference on European security and cooperation, which NATO foreign ministers were tentatively launching as he talked in his office. He viewed it as a breakthrough into new and dramatic fields than as "a means of keeping détente under control."

He saw the conference as giving the Communist states of East Europe "some more possibility of maneuvering than they would otherwise have." He saw the formula for a successful conference as "not to be happy with too little and not to demand so much that it is regarded as an unrealistic propaganda thing."

Mr. Brandt showed more resignation than conviction when talking about U.S. relations with Europe.

Asked about political pressure to reduce U.S. forces in Europe, Mr. Brandt said, "This is something which can only be influenced by a very small degree from abroad." But he thought that the start of preliminary talks on mutual and balanced force reduction would help fend off the critics.

Mr. Brandt was clearly concerned about the nature of U.S.-European relations, and saw a need to improve the channels of communication. "I have been advocating an organized link between the enlarged (European) community and the United States," he said. "Everybody agrees this is a fine idea, but of his European colleagues Mr. Brandt said: 'They were suspicious to begin this, because they thought this was an instrument by which I wanted to get the Americans in, so they would decide upon the community, which is nonsense.'"

The present ties on the ambassadorial level were not enough. "One needs a discussion on a fairly high level at least once a year... perhaps later on even a mixed thing with also business represented, to talk especially on problems of conflicting interests." With the resignation of a man experienced in the ways of the Common Market, he added, "This moves rather slowly."

Big 4 Sign Berlin Pact; Brandt Accords Final

(Continued from Page 1)

of the day, there was a flurry of diplomatic activity on all sides yesterday.

Shortly after the Soviet ambassador, Valentin Falin, deposited the ratification instruments of his government's friendship treaty with Bonn, Mr. Gromyko flew to the West German capital for a talk with Foreign Minister Walter Scheel and supper with Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Polish-Bonn Relations

At about the same time, Poland's deputy foreign minister, Jozef Cyrulnik, completed in Bonn his government's ratification of the 1970 West German-Polish friendship treaty. He declared that the two countries were taking up diplomatic relations immediately. This opens an era of normalization between the two governments after two decades marked largely by hostility.

Both the Moscow and Warsaw treaties were prime works of the Brandt-Scheel coalition government's Ostpolitik, or Eastern policy, opened when they took office in 1969.

While the Poles, Russians and West Germans were toasting each other in Bonn, Secretary Rogers led a small American automobile convoy into East Berlin as a "symbolic and legal" exercise of four-power rights in the capital of East Germany.

Mr. Rogers got the idea for the 70-minute visit late Friday night,

according to aides, and he apparently relished talking to East Berliners among them a 10-year-old boy on Unter Den Linden, about yesterday's agreement. Aides reported the response was positive.

Afterward Mr. Rogers left by air for Key Biscayne, Fla., where he is to report to President Nixon.

Sir Alec Sees Gromyko

WEST BERLIN, June 4 (Reuters).—The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec, had a surprise 20-minute meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko yesterday in a move to improve Anglo-Soviet relations, which have been cool since the expulsion of 105 Soviet diplomats from London last autumn after spying allegations.

A British spokesman described the atmosphere as very good at the meeting, arranged at Britain's request. It was the second session held by the two men since the Soviet diplomats were expelled. They had a sharp private encounter at the UN General Assembly last year when Mr. Gromyko expressed Soviet resentment at the expulsions.

Sir Alec and Mr. Gromyko were understood to have agreed yesterday that it would be useful to exchange views on détente and a European security conference.

Bonn's Treaties Weighed

BONN, June 4 (AP).—The Bonn-Moscow accord commits

both nations to acknowledge the inviolability of existing European borders. This means that for the first time, Bonn recognizes the loss of German territories taken away after World War II—notably those given to Poland.

The Soviet Union and West Germany also pledge to seek to preserve world peace and seek to solve differences through peaceful means only, in accordance with the "aims and basic principles" of the UN Charter.

The treaty states that it does not affect any previous bilateral or multilateral agreements by the nations involved.

The Bonn-Warsaw treaty, more specific than its Moscow companion-piece, recognizes the line formed by the Oder and Neisse Rivers as Poland's western frontier.

No Land Claims

The West Germans and Poles declare that they have "no territorial claims whatsoever" against each other.

They pledge to settle all disputes by peaceful means only and refrain from "any threat or use of force" in mutual relations.

They proclaim the will to "take further steps toward full normalization" on the basis of the treaty, listing a broadening of cooperation in "the sphere of economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other relations" as being "in their mutual interest."

The Warsaw treaty states that it does not affect any previous bilateral or multilateral agreements.

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The Warsaw treaty states that it does not affect any previous bilateral or multilateral agreements.

Brandt Goes to U.S.

For Harvard Speech

BOSTON, June 4 (Reuters).—West German Chancellor Willy Brandt arrived here this afternoon only 24 hours after the signing of the nonaggression treaty between West Germany and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Brandt arrived 20 minutes ahead of schedule aboard a German Air Force plane. He is due to return to Europe tomorrow night after being the main speaker at Harvard University ceremonies to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, which was developed to help Europe recover from World War II.

West Berliners Apply for Passes Under New Pact

BERLIN, June 4 (UPI).—Hundreds of West Berliners lined up today to apply for wall passes to visit the East under the Big Four agreement signed yesterday.

A misunderstanding over when the wall passes would be issued, however, marred the first day of the agreement.

At opening time, there were 160 West Germans waiting at one of the two pass offices and about 100 at the other. Many were disappointed because they had hoped to get a wall pass immediately to visit their East Berlin and East German relatives today. But they were told by the Eastern officials it would take five days to get the passes, except in family emergencies.

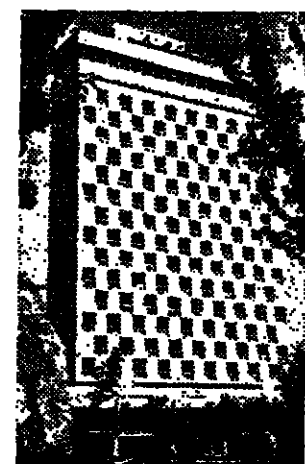
A West Berlin city spokesman said that the East Germans had promised passes would be issued immediately. He said the city government would take the matter up with the East Germans, probably tomorrow.

Under the Big Four agreement, West Berliners may visit East Berlin and East Germany for a total of 30 days a year.

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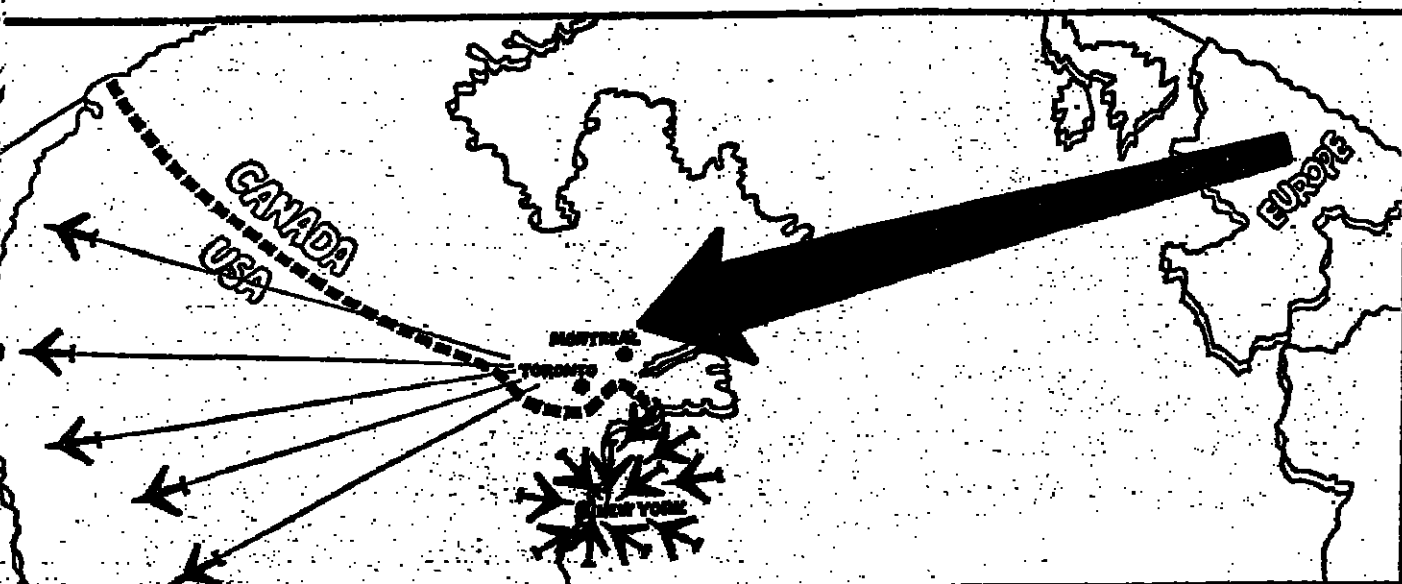
For reservations at the Arya-Sheraton or any Sheraton in the world call: In the United Kingdom, ask operator for Freefone 2067 In Paris, call 225.42.63 In Frankfurt, call 29.22.15 In Brussels, call 12.30.78 In Rome, call 68.66.38 In Madrid, call 222.63.57.

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New York Stock Exchange										Bonds										Sales in \$1,000 High Low Last Net chgs										Bonds										Sales in \$1,000 High Low Last Net chgs																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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Eurobonds

Volume Was a '72 Record;
Is Off to a Booming Start

By Carl Gewirtz

June 4 (AP)—The market is in full boom, month—with 20 issues of \$500 million or more in new issues. The flow of new issues is so high that the market is being flooded. As interest rates rise, the market is being flooded. As interest rates rise, the market is being flooded.

At the same time, the base of the market is broadening. It has institutions from all over the world. But the news is that the Swiss, the main buyers of Eurobonds, are buying more. They are buying more.

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Economic Indicators

WEEKLY COMPARISONS

	Latest Week	Prior Week	1971
Commodity Index.....	118.5	118.9	107.7
*Currency in circ.....	\$61,337,000	\$61,207,000	\$57,482,000
*Total Loans.....	\$57,487,000	\$57,489,000	\$53,554,000
*Steel prod (tons).....	2,585,000	2,703,000	2,014,000
*Auto production.....	184,984	182,000	159,818
Daily oil prod (bbls).....	9,862,000	9,761,000	9,762,000
Foreign car loadings.....	N.A.	822,282	571,181
*Elec. Pow. kw-hr.....	\$2,379,000	\$1,470,000	1,170
Business failures.....	213	179	199

Statistics for commercial agricultural loans, carloadings, steel, oil, electric power and business failures are for the preceding week and latest available.

MONTHLY COMPARISONS

	4 April	Prior Month	1971
Employed.....	81,296,000	81,241,000	79,653,000
Unemployed.....	5,078,000	5,072,000	5,084,000
Industrial production.....	108.5	108.9	105.5
*Personal income.....	\$905,100,000	\$901,800,000	\$838,300,000
*Money supply.....	\$235,505,000	\$231,200,000	\$219,700,000
Consumer's Price Index.....	124.0	123.3	119.8
Contracts Contracts.....	159	155	142
*Mfrs. Inventories.....	\$101,120,000	\$101,030,000	\$100,900,000
*Exports.....	\$4,226,700	\$3,868,600	\$3,733,500
*Imports.....	\$4,538,000	\$4,132,300	\$3,653,000

*1960 unitized 1970 subject to revision by sources.

Commodity Index based on 1967=100, the consumer price index based on 1967=100, and employment figures are compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial production is Federal Reserve Board's adjusted index of 1967=100. Imports and exports are compiled by the Department of Commerce. Money supply is total currency outside banks and demand deposits adjusted as reported by Federal Reserve Board. Business failures are compiled by Dun & Bradstreet, Inc. Construction contracts are compiled by the F. W. Dodge Division, McGraw-Hill Information Systems Company.

causing some curious situations on the secondary market. Most notably, the rush to subscribe to convertible bonds paying 4 1/4 percent interest and carrying a 15 percent conversion premium overlooks the fact that better terms are available among some older bonds.

The Carrier 65, for example, are trading around 113 and yielding 4.8 percent to maturity. In addition, the bonds are convertible into Carrier common stock at a mere 2.5 percent. Suez 7 1/2 are also yielding 4.8 percent to maturity and can be converted at a premium of 7.8 percent.

The Honeywell 65 are currently a better investment than the background economic and political news last week, but none was

Profit-Taking, Uncertainty Over the Economy Send N.Y. Stock Prices Into Mild Retreat

By Thomas E. Mullaney

NEW YORK, June 4 (AP)—

Perhaps it was merely a normal bout of profit-taking after the stock market's sharp, contra-seasonal ascent during the first four weeks of May.

Or, it might have been a sign of developing disenchantment with the glamour issues over their ability to pile further price gains atop their recent price advance.

It could, instead, have been a reflection of the series of vague, unexplained fears gripping investors about various economic, political and international problems.

Or, perhaps some members of the investing community were beginning to agree with the statement reiterated a week ago by William McChesney Martin Jr., former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, and price volatility this year have been excessive.

Maybe it was a combination of all of those factors, but whatever the reason or reasons, the stock market staged a short retreat last week in a pervasive display of uncertainty.

Not even the completion of the summit meeting in Moscow and President Nixon's confident recitation before a joint session of Congress of its accomplishments could stem the market's downward course.

Yet, at the weekend, optimism remained high in Wall Street that, before long, the market would undergo a sharp upgrade to mount a new attack on its historical peaks. Confidence in a "traditional" summer rally is widespread because the fundamental forces—in both the economy and in business—are still heavily constructive.

There were, to be sure, some negative developments in the background economic and political news last week, but none was

sufficient to offset the continuing favorable news or to start a decisive downturn in the stock market.

Among the adverse elements in the news were these: The new surge of 3 percent in farm prices and the fresh rise of 0.6 percent in over-all wholesale prices last month, the continuation of unemployment at a 5.9 percent rate.

For the third straight month, the upswing of the free gold price toward the \$80-a-ounce level; the lingering concern over the terrorist attack at the Tel Aviv airport, and the nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Countering these developments were the continued strength of business sales, orders, consumer credit, profits and capital spending, as well as the further rise in the number of Americans holding jobs to a record of 81.4 million last month.

While the stock market's near-term outlook remains largely favorable, there is rising concern in investment circles over future policies of the Price Commission, the possible resurgence of strong inflationary pressures, the course of fiscal and monetary policy, and the outcome of this year's presidential election.

Nevertheless, sampling of opinion among several leading market analysts indicated an overwhelming consensus that the market would make further gains before undergoing any major correction.

In the bond market, prices rose and long-term interest rates dropped to their lowest levels since mid-January, chiefly because no one from the federal government on down—has been borrowing as much as generally expected, even though the economy has been showing more signs of snap and sparkle.

Presidential analysis of the credit markets view the borrowing slowdown as a full before a pickup later in the year that will drive interest rates back up. In the meantime, though, rates on both long-term corporate bonds and municipal issues have come down significantly from the year's high points.

Yields on high-grade utility bonds moved down to the 7.25 percent level last Thursday with the sale of a \$50 million issue of the Florida Power Corp., bonds maturing in 2002. With the decline in rate, investors did not rush in to buy the bonds.

But underwriters insisted they weren't discouraged. They cautioned that the likelihood of still lower bond yields in the days ahead was not a major concern.

(Continued on Page 13, Col. 4)

Amex and Over-Counter

By Elizabeth M. Fowler

NEW YORK, June 4 (AP)—The big stories of the week on the American Stock Exchange did not involve the trend of the market as much as two individual companies. One dropped sharply, the other jumped up. Meanwhile, the ASE index closed at 27.85, down 0.02.

Guardian Industries, in the auto glass business, has been a favorite growth stock in recent months, but last week Guardian shares plunged 2 1/2 points to 103. The reason was no further away than some analyst's pessimistic opinions about the continued fast growth of the company's profits expressed in a leading financial newspaper. Despite a protest by the company's president that the article was based partly on a "misconception," investors sold actively.

At the same time a leading company, Chesbrough-Pond's, was announcing that it planned to acquire Binney & Smith, in the art materials field. It was a well-kept secret because the day before the announcement the shares of Binney & Smith on the American Stock Exchange gained only 1/4 of a point.

The next day there was a sharp rise, and with reason. Chesbrough-Pond's announced a share-for-share exchange with Binney & Smith. Binney & Smith shares were selling in the 30s promptly rose. At week's end, Binney & Smith shares showed a gain of 1 1/2 to close at 56 1/4.

Weekly market of camp rallies, last 4 1/2 points, was the week to end at 12 3/4, because of a discouraging earnings projection. Another low-priced stock, American Israel Paper, which traded at 6 1/4 a week ago, closed at 9 5/8, almost a 50 percent gain. The company, which has a half ownership in a company that is licensed to manufacture the Wankel engine, could give no explanation for the sharp rise. There has been much interest in the Wankel engine for cars and boats.

In the Over-the-Counter market, the trend was similar. The NASDAQ industrial index ended at 149.35, down 0.19 for the week. Changes were mostly minor for banks and insurance company shares.

Over-Counter Market

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Bond Sales on the New York Stock Exchange

Bonds	Sales in \$1,000	High	Low	Last	Net change
(Continued from Page 10)					
Grand 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Grey 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—

Bonds	Sales in \$1,000	High	Low	Last	Net change
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—

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Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
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Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
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Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—
Int'l 4 1/2% 7/15/72	25	72 1/2	72 1/2	72 1/2	—

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CONDENSED BALANCE SHEET as at December 31st, 1971
(converted into U.S. dollars)

ASSETS

	1971	1970
Available in Greece and abroad	577,193,328	427,116,617
Loans and Advances	1,564,882,823	1,296,168,981
Investments	284,209,936	138,029,830
Other accounts	158,496,309	106,101,422
Guarantees and other contra accounts	812,993,826	727,925,521
	3,316,972,222	2,695,341,571

LIABILITIES

	1971	1970
Share Capital and Reserves	76,604,555	61,710,449
Provision for depreciation of Assets	88,683,652	78,004,898
Deposits	2,189,728,178	1,878,138,195
Other accounts	148,062,011	178,962,589
Guarantees, etc.	812,993,826	727,925,520
	3,316,972,222	2,695,341,571

Profit and Loss account

	1971	1970
General expenses and taxes	46,186,811	41,603,662
Provisions for contingencies	18,858,422	17,075,009
Distribution of profits	12,652,500	10,122,000
Dividend	9,592,246	5,539,253
Reserves and other provisions	87,289,979	74,159,924

* 1971: \$833; 1970: \$667.

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internationally
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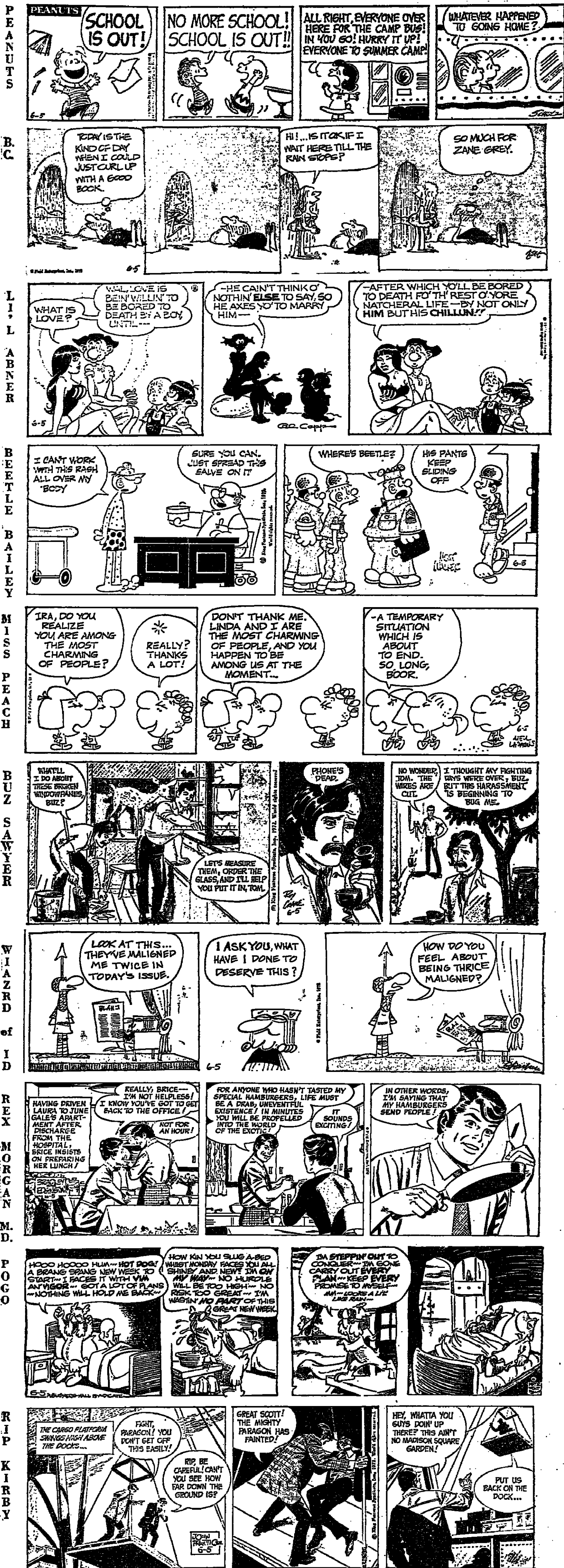
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BLONDIE



BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

On the diagrammed deal South could hardly stop short of slam when his partner opened one no-trump and then showed spade support. He used Blackwood to cover the remote possibility that two aces were missing.

The slam depends primarily on finding a favorable trump situation, with East holding the queen once or twice guarded. With any lead but a diamond South would have coasted home by drawing trumps and developing the club suit.

But West led the diamond eight. South put up dummy's queen without much hope, and won the trick with the ace when East produced the king. A favorable trump situation was no longer enough, for there was a probable loser in each minor suit.

South found an elegant solution—a partial elimination. He led to the spade ace and followed with a trump to his king, noting with pleasure the appearance of the queen and ten from East. He then cashed three heart tricks, depriving East of a safe exit, and led his diamond loser. East won in this position:

NORTH (D)		EAST	
♠ A84	♥ A95	♠ K10952	♥ Q10
♦ A85	♣ 98	♦ 108743	♣ 92
♠ K10952	♥ Q10	♦ 84	♣ KJ107632
♦ 853	♣ Q10	♠ Q84	♥ J3
♠ KJ762	♥ KJ5	SOUTH	
♦ A5	♣ A76	♠ 9	♥ —
Both sides were vulnerable.		♦ K10952	♥ —
The bidding:		♠ 8	♥ 108
North	East	South	West
1 N.T.	Pass	3 ♠	Pass
4 ♠	Pass	4 N.T.	Pass
5 ♠	Pass	6 ♠	Pass
Pass	Pass	West led the diamond eight.	

NORTH (D)		EAST	
♠ A84	♥ A95	♠ K10952	♥ Q10
♦ A85	♣ 98	♦ 108743	♣ 92
♠ K10952	♥ Q10	♦ 84	♣ KJ107632
♦ 853	♣ Q10	♠ Q84	♥ J3
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5 ♠	Pass	6 ♠	Pass
Pass	Pass	West led the diamond eight.	

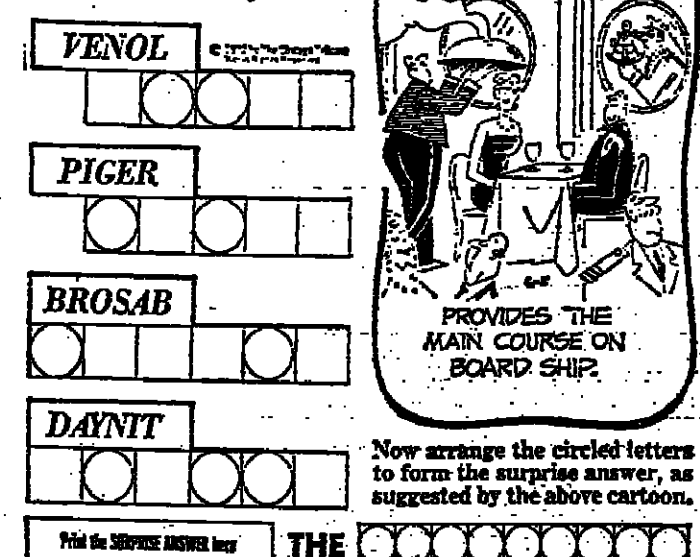
DENNIS THE MENACE



"WHEN IT'S GETTIN' HOT! I WONDER WHOSE MOM WILL BE THE FIRST ONE TO TURN ON THE AIR CONDITION?"

JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Answers: 1. DINNER 2. LOVER 3. AROUND 4. BRANDY

BOOKS

THE FIFTH WORLD OF FORSTER BE

By Vincent Crapanzano. Viking. 245 pp. \$.

Reviewed by Thomas Lask

It was Vine Deloria, I think, who remarked sardonically that every Indian family has its house anthropologist. Vincent Crapanzano, who is an anthropologist and who has in "The Fifth World of Forster Bennett" written about a Navaho family, would understand that remark. For he himself comments on the innocence and the arrogance of an Anglo-Easterner who pushes himself onto an Indian reservation for a short stay (his was seven weeks) and then writes a dehumanized brief in the name of science. Where his book differs from those of other investigators who have made the same journey is that in it the theorizing has been reduced to a minimum and no towers of speculation have been erected on a few paltry facts. You would be hard put to find a single generalization in the text. He is not even always sure of the facts. He can say what he saw and heard and tell what happened, but he is never sure how much is being offered for his benefit. He is very much aware, and he soon makes the reader aware, that he is a disturbing element in the social complex he has come to study and that his presence alters the evidence that he is compiling.

This can be seen in little ways. Once when he wandered into the house where Forster Bennett and a friend were being friendly over a bottle of wine, he noticed that they tried to keep their glasses out of sight below the level of the table. Were they ashamed? Were they ashamed only before him or were they making a gesture they thought he would appreciate? It can be seen in big things too. In a matter involving the piping of fresh water into his home, his host acted with a responsibility and determination not characteristic of his other actions. Water was surely an important matter, but Mr. Crapanzano felt that the Indian was living up to an ideal more meaningful to his guest than to himself. Though communal effort in his action would have carried more weight, Forster Bennett did not try to put collective muscle behind his need. How involved was he truly?

"The Fifth World of Forster Bennett" is a somewhat edited version of the author's journal and notes that he kept while on a visit to the reservation some years back. The place is in northeastern Arizona, not far from Flagstaff. It is a plain, unadorned document, vivid, concrete, accessible. The facts are his; the conclusions are likely to be your own. Forster Bennett (his name, like so many others, Rod Quinn, Willy Murphy, Dermot Lewis, sounds dehumanized) is a Navaho in his 50s who is raising a family of girls and boys without benefit of a wife, though he has been married by his own admission at least three times. He doesn't earn much, but he works steadily. His credit at the finance loan company is good.

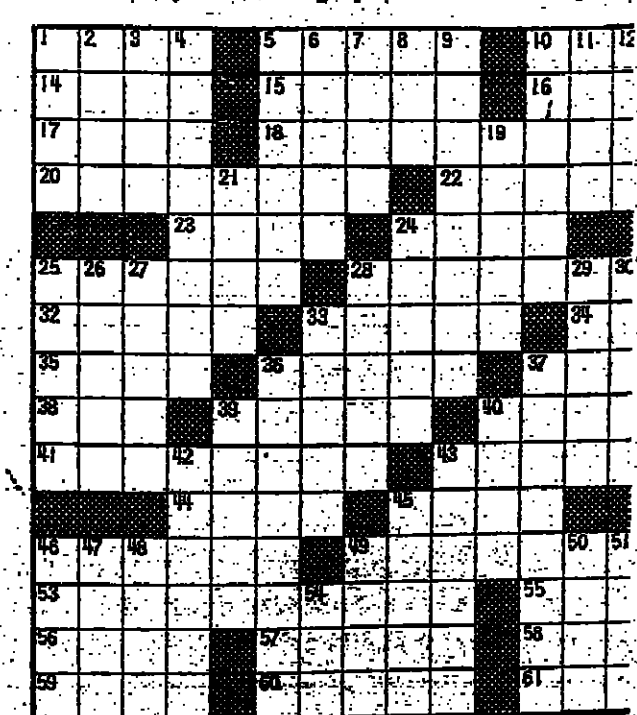
His daughters of school for him and work in summer. He has no for education, never mention Mr. Crapanzano's demotic credentials in his books. He has seen American and Japan. This past contact with troubles him, and it is dramatic for the situation of so many Indians. There is a Navaho that could free a bel the haunting hold to have on his mind. Bennett has come to the ancient ways to their efficacy. At the he does not feel close Christian churches to them. In the the phrase, he lives in that between marginal and moribund Navaho therefore looks for old of relief, mostly in drink. The author attends two of the ceremonies that the Indians preserve always have a better id was going on than he did they come? Becca something to do, an chance to meet, as friends, an opportunity and mix with women quality of helplessness, fness of life closed at that comes through mo in the book. Sometimes young man, pulled into various liquor violation leniency on the ground wants to go to college, who has fallen for this before, does so again, asks the boy, does he study? "Psychology at ophy," the young man. Circumstances even small corner of the are not the same even Crapanzano came acc that were dirtier than Bennett's and ill-maint others that were even n fully groomed; and lool He came across some highly motivated, with idea of where they w He encountered college who came back to th tion in the summer to they could for the oc Yet even among them the pull of the two cult as he was sometimes ree an interloper, something comed as a friend of the Indians were not sure what approach to is for the most part the d dsmal. The lack of opportunity, purpose and o frightening. Because th is so personal, so factual, and precise, it will sta mind longer than more i tomes. Learning how i now is a step to doing a about it.

Mr. Lask is a New York book reviewer.

CROSSWORD

By Wil

ACROSS		43 Ex-Yank Danny	12 Marquis d
1 Trim a negative	44 Descartes	19 Remove	13 Epochs
5 U. S. historian	45 Delayed	21 Catches	14 Anchor p
10 Recess	46 Part of a sonnet	24 Anchor p	25 Bite, Dog
14 Verdi work	49 Culled	25 Bite, Dog	26 Wrinkles
15 heaver	53 By happenstance	26 Wrinkles	27 Actress T
16 German area	55 Wear out	27 Actress T	28 Kind of fi
17 Frost, for one	56 Dickens, for	28 Kind of fi	29 No-good c
18 Better medicine	57 Bridge bid	29 No-good c	30 "stak
20 "in Paradise"	58 Ruler of the	30 "stak	31 Pausas
22 Does tree surgery	59 Nautical nozzle	31 Pausas	32 Regard hi
23 Part of a certain comb	60 Town in Belgium	32 Regard hi	36 Publishin
24 Card game	61 Tom	36 Publishin	37 Lie
25 Make	DOWN	37 Lie	39 Run off ti
28 Petty cheat	1 Upper-case	39 Run off ti	42 Painter
32 Hatters sights	2 letters: Abbr.	42 Painter	43 Mexican
33 Gameway	3 Disorder	43 Mexican	44 President
34 Bullfight sound	2 Or, in Berlin	44 President	45 1924-38
35 Stare	4 Nursery game	45 1924-38	46 Pillage
36 Trick	5 Breed of dog	46 Pillage	47 Repeat
37 Clothing	6 Support	47 Repeat	48 Bleuish
38 West	7 Culture medium	48 Bleuish	49 Agitate
39 Lively	8 Sports official	49 Agitate	50 Turn the
40 Assault	9 Old football play	50 Turn the	51 Tralee's k
41 Assess 15 yards	10 Cagy	51 Tralee's k	52 Tooth: Pr
	11 Agony	52 Tooth: Pr	54 Sleep



King Wins in Two Sets

Miss Goolagong in Paris

na. His homer came in the
thir inning. In the next
ing, his double scored two runs
ter Blue had issued all three
his walks.

Trial	Control (n=10)	MCI (n=10)	AD (n=10)
1	95	85	75
2	95	85	75
3	95	80	70
4	95	75	65
5	95	75	65

TRACK AND FIELD—At Brussels

FRIDAY'S GAMES	Blue, Horton (5), Segal (7), and Dun-	St. Louis 600 600 5
	ton (10) of the Blue, 10-0.	Los Angeles 600 600 5

BALTIMORE, June 4. (NYT) — The Baltimore Colts' Ed McCaffrey made his second start in the team's 17-10 victory over the Pittsburgh Steelers.

na. His homer came in the fourth inning. In the next

